

**INDIA'S CONTRIBUTION
TO THE STUDY OF
HADITH LITERATURE**

INDIA'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDY OF HADITH LITERATURE

A SURVEY OF
THE GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF HADITH LITERATURE IN THE
SUB-CONTINENT OF PAKISTAN AND INDIA FROM THE EARLIEST TIME
DOWN TO THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

TOGETHER WITH
The lives and the works of the leading Muhaddithun of the time

BY

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INTRODUCTION

In the opinion of the late 'Allāma Rashīd Riḍā of Egypt, the Indian Muslims are playing the leading rôle in the diffusion and dissemination of Ḥadīth learning in the world to-day. As a matter of fact, according to him, but for the painstaking labour of the Indian Muslims towards the cultivation of the Science of al-Ḥadīth, it would have well-nigh died down.¹ If the achievement of the moribund Muslim India, when she has fallen on evil days after the loss of her political power, has been such, it behoves us well to take stock of what our noble forefathers did for the cultivation of the sciences in general, and Islamic sciences in particular, during their palmy days which lasted for the better part of a thousand years. True, 'Allāma Dr. Sayyid Sulaymān Nadawī² and the late Ḥakīm 'Abd al-Ḥayy of Nadwa³ have done some pioneer work as far as India's contribution to Ḥadīth literature is concerned; but they have not, I am afraid, done full justice to the subject, partly because of lack of materials available in this connection, partly because of the range of their studies being generally wide and varied—a fact that might have precluded them from concentrating on a particular topic like this. Anyway, the small but very precious work they have done is enough to provoke the thoughts of our present-day youth to go forward in search of 'fresh fields and pastures new.' This thesis entitled 'India's Contribution to the Study of

1. Muḥammad Fu'ād 'Abd al-Bāqī, *Miftāḥ Kunūz al-Sunna* (Cairo, 1934); Muqaddima, p. ق ; al-Furqān, Shāh Walī Allāh Number (Bareilly, 1940), pp. 164, 222; Manāẓir Aḥsan Gilānī, *Niẓām-i-Ta'lim wa Tarbiyat* (Delhi, 1944), vol. I, p. 106.

2. Ma'ārif, vols. XII, Nos. 4-6; XIII, No. 2, art. *Hindūstān men 'Ilm-i-Ḥadīth*.

3. Ma'ārif al-'Awārif (MS.), s.v. al-Ḥadīth fī Bilād al-Hind.

Hadith Literature' will, therefore, make a modest effort to give a survey of what Indians have contributed towards the Science of al-Ḥadīth from the beginning of India's connection with the Muslim World down to the foundation of the Islamic University of Dār al-'Ulūm at Deoband. We do not purposely like to deal with what has been, and what is being done after that, as that is a matter of common knowledge to all of us. The work has, for purposes of convenience and easy handling, been divided into two parts. The first part deals with Tradition and the Traditionists in India, and the second, with the Indian Traditionists outside India.

Although the invasion of Sind was first launched during the days of the *Ṣaḥāba* in 23/643, it was finally conquered in the early years of the *Ṭabī'un* when al-Ḥadīth entered into a new phase of development. Up to that time no systematic attempt had been made to collect the vast mass of traditions lying scattered with the scholars in different parts of the Islamdom. Nor had the State taken any initiative in the matter. But now with the accession of Caliph 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz (99-101), things took a new turn. Himself a Traditionist of no mean repute, the Caliph issued an edict to his Governors directing the attention of the scholars to the collection and codification of Aḥādīth—the supreme need of the hour. This Caliphal mandate infused a fresh life into Ḥadīth literature; the Muslim divines and doctors, therefore, devoted themselves to the task of piecing together the erstwhile scattered Apostolic traditions. Side by side with these developments, al-Ḥadīth made its way to Sind. But before the foundation of the independent Arab principalities in al-Mansūra and Multān towards the close of the third century of the Hijra, no appreciable progress in its study was made in Sind. As a result, the territory could not keep pace with other Muslim

countries in the services of Ḥadīth literature during the second and the third centuries when *ʿIlmal-Ḥadīth* or the Science of Ḥadīth literature was evolved. Nevertheless during this evolutionary period of al-Ḥadīth, a group of brilliant *Ṭalibū'l-ʿIlm* belonging to the tribes of Sind settled in al-ʿIrāq and to the families of the Indian war-prisoners who had embraced Islām and established themselves in Muslim lands, took an active part in the transmission of Aḥādīth. Of them al-Awzāʿī (d. 157) in Syria, Najīb al-Sindī (d. 170) in al-Madīna and Baghdād and Rajāʾ al-Sindī (d. 222) in Khurāsān attained great distinction as early collectors and codifiers of Aḥādīth. A grandson of Rajāʾ al-Sindī, namely, Muḥammad al-Sindī (d. 286) compiled a *Mustakhraj* on the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim (d. 261), while Khalaf al-Sindī (d. 231), an ardent *Ṭalīb al-ʿIlm* of the early third century, prepared a *Musnad*. Unfortunately, neither the *Mustakhraj* nor the *Musnad* could stand the ravages of time. If preserved, they would have added to the contribution of the Indian Traditionists to Ḥadīth literature during its formative period. Nevertheless, a fair number of Aḥādīth transmitted on the authority of Indian *Ruwāt* has been preserved in the *Ṣiḥāḥ Sitta* and the other compilations of Aḥādīth.

While the Indian *Ruwāt* referred to above were working for the cause of al-Ḥadīth outside India, there sprang up in Sind, under the auspices of the independent Arab rulers of al-Manṣūra and Multān, seats of Ḥadīth learning that produced several good Muḥaddithūn and deputed a number of *Ṭalibū'l-ʿIlm* outside India to acquire proficiency in the Science. As a matter of fact, Sindian Muḥaddithūn in the fourth century showed a great promise in the domain of Ḥadīth literature. Unfortunately, their cultural activities had to be transitory and short-lived as the principalities were usurped by the Ismāʿīlites towards the

close of this century. The Ismā'ilite *coup d'état*, thus, dealt a severe blow at the development of the study of al-Ḥadīth in Sind and this meant the abrupt end of the first stage of the growth of the study of al-Ḥadīth in India.

The second stage began with the accession of the Shāfi'ite Muḥmūd al-Ghaznawī (388-421 A.H.). Under him and his successors, Lahore became a seat of al-Ḥadīth, which turned out, among other Muḥaddithūn, Imām al-Ṣaghānī al-Lāhurī (d. 650) who was one of the greatest Traditionists and the philologists of his age. His rôle as a Traditionist has been appraised in its proper place. Suffice it here to say that as the author of the *Mashāriq al-Anwār* and the editor of the text of the *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* as we have it in the present form and phraseology in the Muslim countries of Asia, al-Ṣaghānī has left an enduring name.

With the foundation of the Delhi Sultana'te in 602/1206 Ḥadīth literature in India entered into its third stage of development. The early centuries of the Turkish rule in India, particularly the seventh and the eighth centuries, were the age of the Fuqahā' who were so preoccupied with the function of *Qaḍā'*, the administration of justice, that they did not think it worth their while to spread the teaching of Ḥadīth in the newly-founded Muslim kingdom of India. Nor did they generally appear to have borne in their hearts any soft corner for the Apostolic Traditions. In those gloomy days of Ḥadīth literature in India, the Ṣūfī scholars of the eminence of Shaykhs Zakarīyya al-Multānī (d. 666), Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' (d. 725), Yahyā al-Manirī (d. 782) and Shihāb al-Hamadānī (d. 786) came forward to study Ḥadīth literature and introduced it among the disciples of their respective *Khānqas*. Thanks to their deep and abiding interest for Ḥadīth, the teaching of the *Ṣiḥāḥ Sitta* came in vogue in some of the Khānqas of Northern India in the course of the

8th century of the Hijra. It is, however, a fact that so long as India's cultural relation remained confined to Central Asia, the study of al-Hadīth could not make any tangible progress in India. The Central Asiatic countries, particularly Transoxania, Khurāsān and al-'Irāq, were in those days the home of Fiqh and Ma'qūlāt. As India was conquered by the soldiers of Central Asia so was it influenced by the best brains of that region. Moreover, to administer justice as provided for by Islamic Shari'a, the Fuqahā' were in great demand in the growing Muslim empire of India, whereas the Muḥaddithūn had no such scope. Hence the former, namely, the Fuqahā', found in India a rich and covetable soil which the latter, namely, the Muḥaddithūn, did not. As a result, the Delhi Sultānate was early thronged with Fuqahā' from Central Asia. In fact, with the exception of 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Ardbīlī, no Traditionist worth the name was found to have migrated to India during the pre-Renaissance period.

The fourth stage of the study of al-Hadīth in India, which we have termed as the Renaissance period, commenced early in the 9th century with the opening of India's cultural relation with Arabia by the sea after the independent Muslim kingdoms of the Bahmanīs in the Deccan and the Muẓaffarshāhīs in Gujarāt had been set up. Thus was re-established after a lapse of four hundred years India's cultural relation with Arabia, which had remained suspended as a result of the Ismā'ilite *coup d'état* in Sind. Now, with the coming of Traditionists from al-Hijāz and Egypt, Hadīth literature became widely diffused in India towards the middle of the 10th century. The result was remarkable and phenomenal. Henceforth, Indian Traditionists were found in the services of Hadīth literature as teachers, translators and compilers simultaneously in India and al-Hijāz—a state of things that continued until the foundation of the Dār

al-'Ulūm at Deoband and the Mazāhir al-'Ulūm at Sahāranpūr at the end of the 13th century A.H. The Dār al-'Ulūm and the Mazāhir al-'Ulūm, be it noted, marked the dawn of the modern progressive era of the culture and cultivation of the Science of al-Hadith in India. Hitherto, Muslim India had no such centralized institution for higher studies in the subject, and the Indian students had to go abroad to al-Hijāz for specialization in al-Hadith. These two great institutions have, thus, supplied the Indian Musulmans with a long-felt desideratum and have made them independent and self-supporting so far as the study of Hadith literature is concerned.

PART I

INDIAN TRADITIONISTS IN INDIA

CHAPTER I

THE ADVENT OF THE ṢAḤĀBA IN INDIA

AL-HADITH might well have been introduced into India by the Ṣaḥāba, the Companions of the Holy Prophet Muḥammad (on whom be peace and blessings of Allāh) themselves, had 'Umar, the Second Caliph, allowed the enterprising Arabs who invaded India in 23/643 by land and sea to conquer the country during his Caliphate. There were, of course, important factors which, as we shall presently see, reacted on his decision regarding the Indian campaign. Although since then the frontiers of India were subjected to sporadic Arab raids, no serious attempt for territorial conquest was made until the time of the Umayyad Caliph Walid b. 'Abd al-Malik (86-96/705-15) during whose Caliphate the conquest of Sind came about.

India, therefore, cannot be regarded among those Muslim lands where Hadith was transmitted orally by the Companions themselves. But, fortunately for us, it was at least visited by some of these torch-bearers of Hadith, whose association with India it will be our humble endeavour in the following pages to trace. With that end in view, we propose to outline the early Arab expeditions to India.

CALIPHATE OF 'UMAR [13-23/635-43]

India was invaded by the Arabs for the first time during the Caliphate of 'Umar. In 23/643 a campaign under al-Hakam b. 'Amr al-Taghlibī advanced as far as the Indus while, in the same year, naval expeditions were launched on the coast of West India. These military operations of the Arabs did not result in any

permanent territorial conquest as they had to be called off quite abruptly by the orders of the Caliph.

While directing 'Utba b. Ghazwān, a Companion of the Prophet,' to proceed towards Ubulla (modern al-Baṣra) in 14/634, Caliph 'Umar observed, "Islām should occupy a place in the land of al-Hind."² In his reference to 'arḍ al-Hind,' the Caliph had apparently Ubulla in mind, because in his days it was known by the name of 'al-Hind.'³ Henceforth, the Arabs advanced steadily towards India reaching the Indus Valley in 23/643.

The victory of the Arabs in the battle of Nihāwand (21/641) could not make them masters of the Sassanide empire, nor was it decisive in bringing about the final collapse of the Government, although it dealt a severe blow to the power of Yazdjird III.⁴ As a result, the central authority became weak and the Marzubāns or the provincial governors assumed independence.

Apprehending that the fugitive emperor might in future rally round him his scattered forces and take a stand against the Arabs, Caliph 'Umar, at the suggestion of Aḥnaf b. Qais,⁵ thought it necessary to conquer the independent provinces and, thus, remove the last vestiges of the Sassanide empire. Accordingly, in 21/641,⁶ he ordered a general mobilization of soldiers

1. Ibn al-Athīr, *Tajrid Asmā' al-Ṣaḥāba* (Hyderabad, 1315 A.H.) vol. i, p. 399.

2. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, ed. Wustenfeld (Leipzig, 1866), vol. i, p. 641.

3. Ibid.; Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Rusul wa'l-Mulūk*, ed. De Goeje (Leyden, 1893) vol. i, pp. 2378, 2382.

4. Muir, *Annals of the Early Caliphate* (Edinburgh, 1915), p. 258.

5. Ṭabarī, vol. i, p. 2568.

6. Ibid., pp. 2634-35. A little confusion is noticed regarding the date of general mobilization of Arab soldiers in Persia. On the authority of Shu'aib, Saif, Muḥammad, Ṭalḥa and others, Ṭabarī (i, 2568) gives the date at 17/639. Again on the same authority he puts it at 21/641 (i, 2634). But the question is what is to be the correct date? It does not seem probable that Caliph 'Umar who was following a policy of caution and circumspection about the expansion of Islamic empire should have ordered a general mobilization of troops in Persia as early as 17/639 when the Arabs had just achieved initial successes in Western Persia. As a

in Persia under the leadership of the Companions. Thus Aḥnaf b. Qais¹ was directed against Khurāsān; Mujāshi' b. Mas'ūd al-Sulamī,² against Ardshīr Khurrā and Shāpūr; 'Uthmān b. Abī 'l-'Āṣ al-Thaqafī,³ against Iṣṭakhr; Sāriya b. Janīm al-Kinānī,⁴ against Kirmān; 'Āṣim b. 'Amr al-Tamīmī,⁵ against Sijistān and al-Ḥakam b. 'Amr al-Taghlibī,⁶ against Mukrān.⁷

The first direct move towards India was made in 21/641. With a division of soldiers that attained fame in the battle of Nihāwand, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Utbān, a Companion of the Prophet,⁸ marched against Ispahān, a south-eastern city of the Jibāl province.⁹ A fierce fighting took place near the city in which the veteran Persian general, Shahriyār, was killed. Meanwhile, reinforcements from al-Aḥwāz under Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī¹⁰ arrived at Ispahān. The Persians were routed. Having declared the whole province a protectorate under the Arabs, a treaty was concluded with Fājusfān, the governor of Ispahān, to

matter of fact, after the victory of Nihāwand the Caliph 'found that Yazdjird would give him fight every year and that the affairs would not improve so long as the fugitive emperor was allowed to remain in Persia' (vide Tabarī, i, 2634). So, the object of the mobilization, obviously, was to strike a death-blow at the power of Yazdjird, and for this the year 17/639 appears to be premature. Moreover, the order of 17/639 was to reconnoitre (insiyāh) Fāris (mod. Arabistān in Persia) and not to concentrate troops on the provinces of Eastern Persia as Ṭabarī would have us believe (i, 2568-69). To reconcile between these two dates, Ibn al-Athīr (*Tārīkh al-Kāmil*, ed. Egypt, 1301 A.H., vol. ii, p. 273; vol. iii, pp. 8-9) states that the orders were issued in 17/639 but were not executed till 21/641 or 22/642. Ibn Khaldūn (*Tārīkh*, ed. Egypt, vol. iv, p. 122) supports Ibn al-Athīr. Considering the caution of 'Umar and the implication involved, the year 17/639 appears to us to be improbable.

1. *Tajrid*, vol. i, p. 10.
2. *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 55.
3. *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 402.
4. *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 217.
5. See *infra*, p. 14.
6. *Ibid.*
7. Tabarī, vol. i, p. 2569.
8. See *infra*, p. 14.
9. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (Cambridge, 1905), p. 202.
10. *Tajrid*, vol. ii, p. 219.

whom the conquered territory was restored.¹

Shortly after, 'Abd Allāh advanced to the province of Kirmān. Marching on the outskirts of the Great Desert,² he joined the forces under command of Suhail b. 'Adī who had already been on his way to Kirmān.³ Thus strengthened, the Arabs launched an attack upon the province in 23/643. True to their traditional chivalry, the natives backed by the hardy Balūş of the Qufş mountains,⁴ put up a stiff resistance against the invaders, but, being unable to withstand the thrust, they retreated. Dividing the forces into two parts—one under al-Naşair b. 'Amr al-'Ijlī and the other under 'Abd Allāh—the Arabs pursued the retreating natives and overran the territory.⁵

Traversing through the eastern side of the Great Desert, 'Āşim b. 'Amr marched towards Sijistān. Later on, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umair joined him with reinforcements. Scarcely had the Arabs reached the frontiers of Sijistān, when the natives, realizing the futility of resistance, overflowed the territory by breaking the dams of the Helmund.⁶ This, too, was of no avail. The Arab soldiers took Zaranj, the capital, by storm and this weakened the *morale* of the people who came to terms. A treaty was made on the basis of regular payment of tribute provided that the Arabs did not lay any claim on the produce of the land. The Arabs are said to have most scrupulously abided by the terms of the treaty.⁷

The difficulty to mobilize troops through mountainous regions appears to have been a handicap for further advance of the Arabs in this part of the country, and this was, perhaps, why they retraced their march

1. Tabarī, pp. 2637-41.

2. Le Strange, op. cit., Map. I, p. 1 ; pp. 321-33.

3. Tabarī, p. 2641.

4. Le Strange, p. 323.

5. Tabarī, pp. 2703-05.

6. Le Strange, p. 339.

7. Tabarī, pp. 2705-06.

and joined the army concentrated on the frontiers of Mukrān.

The Arabs employed a strong army led by several The Arabs on the bank of the Indus. Companions of the Prophet, viz., 'Āṣim b. 'Amr, al-Ḥakam b. 'Amr al-Taghlibī, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Utbān and Suhail b. 'Adī against Mukrān which was then being ruled over by Rāsil,¹ the king of Sind. The king in person commanded the army constituted by Hindū warriors with numerous elephants, 'which were being daily augmented by fresh arrival of men from that country' (Sind).² The Mukrānis, on their part, rose equal to the occasion—thus making the line of defence apparently impregnable. Nothing, however, could stem the tide of the Arabs. In their utter confusion caused by the lightning attack of the Arabs, the natives took to their heels. A hot pursuit followed for quite a number of days and the Indians were forced to beat retreat across the Indus. Thus the Arabs reduced the entire valley of the Lower Indus.³

The Arab General al-Ḥakam sent Ṣuḥār b. al-'Abdī, a Companion of the Prophet,⁴ to 'Umar with the message of victory and sought the Caliph's permission to proceed further into India by crossing the Indus. On an enquiry about the nature of the land by the Caliph, Ṣuḥār described it thus: "Its plains are mountainous, water supply is scanty and dates are of inferior quality. The enemies are bold. The good

1. For different readings of this term, see Elliot, *The History of India* (London, 1869), vol. ii, p. 417; Raverty, *Notes on Afganistan* (London, 1888), p. 568; Tabarī, p. 2707, note i; Balūdhurī, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Buldān*, ed. by De Goeje (Leyden, 1866), pp. 396-402, 438 = Murgotten, *The Origins of the Islamic States* being a translation of the *Futūḥ al-Buldān* (New York, 1924) Part II, pp. 222 seq; Hodivala, *Studies in Indo-Muslim History* (Bombay, 1939) p. 175. [Hodivala is not, however, right when he states that the term occurred in the Arab chronicles since A.H. 43. For, we find it in Tabarī (i, 2707) as early as the year 23/643-44].

2. Raverty, loc. cit.

3. Tabarī, pp. 2706-07.

4. See *infra*.

(accruing from the land) is little but its evil is enormous. A large army appears to be small there and a small one will be lost. Beyond that region worse awaits."¹ Thereupon, the Caliph ordered the General not to make any further advance.² The progress of the Arabs was, therefore, arrested beyond the Indus.³

Though the campaign was abandoned it resulted in their discovery of a land-route to India through the Mukrān coast.

The first and the earliest naval expedition of the Arabs to India was directed against Thāna, a sea-port near Bombay. 'Uthmān b. Abī l-'Āṣ al-Thaqafī, a Companion of

1. Tabarī, loc. cit.

2. Ibid., p. 2708.

3. The following verses (Tabarī, vol. i, p. 2708) attributed to the General al-Ḥakam, state, in clear terms, that the Arabs overran the region upto the Indus which they called Mihrān (cf. Yāqūt, vol. iv, p. 697) and that if the Caliph did not forbid, they would have crossed the river to penetrate further into India.

قال الحكم بن عمرو التغلبي

لقد شيع الارامل غير فخر	بفنى جاءهم من مكران
اتاهم بعد مشغبه و جهد	وقد صفر الشتاء من الدخان
فانى لا يذم الجيش فعلى	ولا سيفى يذم ولا سنانى
غداة ارفع الا وباشى رفعا	الى السند العريضة والمدانى
و مهران لنا فيما اردنا	مطيع غير مسترخى العنانى
فلولا ما نهى عنه اميرى	قطعناه الى البدد الزوانى

4. 'Uthmān al-Thaqafī accompanied the deputation from Taif that waited upon the Prophet in Ramaḍān, 9/December, 630, and embraced Islām. Although young, his fervour in the cause of Islām was applauded by Abū Bakr. The Prophet appointed him 'Amīl of Taif. During the troublous days of Abū Bakr, 'Uthmān al-Thaqafī played a conspicuous part and prevented his tribe, the Thaqif, from apostasy. He held the governorship of various provinces with success and died in 51/671 or 55/674 at al-Baṣra where he had settled and where the celebrated al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110) learnt *Ḥadīth* from him (Tabarī, *Tārīkh al-Rusul wa'l-Mulūk*, ed. De Goeje, Leyden, 1879-88, vol. i, pp. 1888 seq; Ibn Hajar, *Iṣāba*, Biblio. Indica, 1888, vol. i, pp. 1098 seq; Tabrizī, *al-Ikmāl fi Asmā' al-Rijāl*, lithographed with *Mishkāt al-Maṣābiḥ*, ed. Delhi, p. 606). Of the twenty-nine *Aḥādīth* transmitted by 'Uthmān al-Thaqafī, three have been recorded in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim (Ṣaḥī al-Dīn, *Khulāṣa Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, ed. Egypt, p. 120) and the rest, in the Sunan works (*Iṣāba*, loc. cit.).

the Prophet, who was the governor of al-Bahrain and 'Umān during the Caliphate of 'Umar, sent this expedition under the command of his brother al-Hakam b. Abī 'l-Āṣ al-Thaqafī who also was a Companion of the Prophet.¹ The landing of the forces on the coast of Gujarāt heralded the advent of the *Ṣaḥāba* in South India.² Similar expeditions were also sent against Barwaṣ or Broach and to the gulf of al-Daybul, i.e., Debal. The latter was headed by al-Mughīra³ b. Abī 'l-Āṣ al-Thaqafī, another brother of 'Uthmān al-Thaqafī.⁴

Al-Balādhurī, who records the earliest Arab expeditions to India, does not mention their dates in so many words⁵; but what appears from the context of the *Futūḥ al-Bulḍān* is that the Indian expeditions were undertaken at the instance of 'Uthmān al-Thaqafī immediately after his assumption of the governorship of al-Bahrain and 'Umān in 14/636⁶ or 15/637⁷ as given by Abū Mikhnaḥ⁸ and al-

1. *Isāba*, vol. i, pp. 703, 708; Dhahabī, *Tajrīd Asmā' al-Ṣaḥāba* (Hyderabad, 1315 A.H.), vol. i, p. 144.

2. 'Abd al-Hayy Nadawī, *Nuḥat al-Khawāṭir* (MS. in possession of Dr. 'Abd al-Ālī, M.B., B.S. of Lucknow) vol. i,

الطبقة الاولى فيمن قصد الهند في القرن الاول

Yād-i-Ayyām or *Tārīkh-i-Gujarāt*, ed. Lucknow, pp. 4-5.

3. Elliot, *History of India*, vol. i, p. 416, has misread al-Mughīra as Mughaira.

4. Balādhurī, *Kitāb Futūḥ al-Bulḍān*, ed. De Goeje (Leyden, 1866), pp. 431-32=pp. 209-10 of the English tr. by F.C. Murgotten (New York, 1924).

5. The popular date, i.e., 15 A.H. (637 A.D.), which has been generally quoted in connection with the early Arab invasion of India is, in fact, the date when 'Uthmān al-Thaqafī, who sent the naval expeditions to India, is said to have been appointed governor of al-Bahrain and 'Umān (Balādhurī, loc. cit.).

6. Balādhurī, pp. 81-82=vol. i, p. 125 of the Eng. tr. of the *Futūḥ al-Bulḍān* by P.K. Hitti (New York, 1916).

7. Balādhurī, p. 431=Murgotten, p. 209.

8. Lūṭ b. Yaḥyā better known as Abū Mikhnaḥ was a historian (اخباري). His death occurred before 170/786 (Dhahabī, *Mizān*, ed. Egypt, 1325 A.H., vol. ii, p. 360; Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān*, ed. Hyderabad, vol. iv, p. 492).

Madā'inī.¹ As the date of the Indian expeditions is contingent upon that of the appointment of 'Uthmān al-Thaqafī in al-Baḥrain and 'Umān, it remains for us to ascertain the correct date of the appointment.² That the above two versions of al-Balādhurī are incorrect can be seen from the statement of Ibn Sa'd that until the foundation of al-Baṣra in 16 or 17 A.H.,³ 'Uthmān al-Thaqafī was not transferred from Ṭāif where he had been appointed 'Āmil by the Prophet in 9/630. But when the necessity of a capable governor for the new city of al-Baṣra arose, the name of 'Uthmān al-Thaqafī was suggested to Caliph 'Umar who, however, refused to pass orders for the transfer of a governor who had been appointed by the Prophet himself. Nevertheless, the Caliph had to yield to the popular demand. Accordingly, 'Uthmān al-Thaqafī was sent to al-Baṣra after he had been replaced at Ṭāif by his brother al-Ḥakam b. Abī 'l-'Āṣ al-Thaqafī.⁴ That the account of Abū Mikhnaf⁵ relating to the appointment of 'Uthmān al-Thaqafī is erroneous, is also evident from the fact that 'Alā b. al-Ḥadramī, who is said to have been replaced by 'Uthmān in al-Baḥrain and 'Umān, did not die in 14 A.H. or in the beginning of the year 15 A.H., as asserted by Abū Mikhnaf. For, according to al-Ṭabarī, 'Alā b. al-Ḥadramī, was 'Āmil over al-Baḥrain and al-Yamāma in 16/637,⁶ led a naval expe-

1. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Saif commonly called al-Madā'inī was a pupil of Abū Mikhnaf. He died in 224/838 or 225/839 at the age of 93 years (*Mizān*, vol. ii, p. 236; *Lisān*, vol. iv, p. 492).

2. 'Allāma Sayyid Sulaimūn Nadawī entertains doubt as to the appointment of 'Uthmān al-Thaqafī in 15 A.H. vide his *'Arabūn ki Jahāz-rānī* (A'zamgarh, 1935), p. 59, note; *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad, vol. xv, No. 4, October 1941, art. Arab Navigation, p. 448, note.

3. Cf. Sam'ānī, *Kitāb al-Ansāb*, fol. 84b. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. i, p. 673; Hitti, *History of the Arabs* (London, 1914), p. 241.

4. Ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kabir*, ed. Edward Sachau (Leyden, 1915), vol. vii, part i, pp. 36 seq.

5. As for the account of al-Madā'inī (Balādhurī, 431) it seems probable that he derived it from his teacher Abū Mikhnaf and as such there is practically no difference of opinion between the two.

6. Ṭabarī, vol. i, p. 248.

dition against Fāris (modern Arabistān in Persia) in 17/638¹ and died in 21/641.² Nor does it, further, appear probable that 'Utba b. Ghazwān was superseded by 'Alā' as a governor of al-Baṣra in 14 or 15 A.H. when the former was just accomplishing the preliminary tasks for the foundation of a military barrack there.³ Al-Ṭabarī, presumably on the authority of al-Balādhurī, places 'Uthmān during 14-15 A.H. in al-Baḥrain⁴ while, curiously enough, 'Umān which served as the base for Indian expeditions was, during the period, in charge of another governor, namely Hudhaifa b. Miḥṣan.⁵ Again, al-Ṭabarī maintains that 'Uthmān al-Thaqafī was the governor of Ṭaif in the year 16 A.H.⁶—a statement that corroborates Ibn Sa'd.⁷ Moreover, with the exception of al-Balādhurī, no other chronicler puts the provinces of al-Baḥrain and 'Umān under one 'Āmil till 23/643. After 'Uthmān's appointment in al-Baṣra in 17 A.H., al-Baḥrain and al-Yamāma also came under his control,⁸ but 'Umān still continued to be governed by Hudhaifa b. Miḥṣan.⁹ So the despatch of a naval expedition to India under 'Uthmān till 17 A.H.¹⁰ was out of question.

According to al-Ṭabarī, 'Uthmān al-Thaqafī assumed charge of al-Baḥrain and the outlying provinces, namely, 'Umān and al-Yamāma in 23/643¹¹—a date which can be gleaned from al-Balādhurī also by chronologically arranging the tenures of the offices of the governors of al-Baḥrain up to the year 23 A.H. In

1. Tabarī, vol. i, pp. 2545 seq.

2. Ibn al-Athīr, *Tārīkh al-Kāmil* (Egypt, 1301 A.H.), vol. iii, p. 10. Cf. Dhahabī, *Tajrīd*, vol. i, p. 409. According to a version of al-Balādhurī, (p. 81 = Hitti, p. 124), 'Alā' died in 20/640.

3. Balādhurī, p. 346 = Murgotten, p. 60; *Ency. of Islām*, loc. cit.

4. Tabarī, vol. i, pp. 2388-89, 2426.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 2389, 2426.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 2481.

7. *Vide* above, p. 8.

8. Ibn Sa'd, loc. cit.; Tabarī, p. 2570.

9. Tabarī, p. 2570.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 2737.

11. *Ibid.*

20/640 Qudāma b. Ma'zūn al-Jumālī, 'Āmil over al-Bahrain, was dismissed on the charge of drinking and Abū Huraira al-Dawsī was appointed in his place.¹ That Abū Huraira held the post for a considerable length of time, is known from his establishment of a stable for breeding horses, which yielded him a sum of 12,000 dirhams. The accumulation of this money was viewed by Caliph 'Umar as amounting to misappropriation of the public revenue (*Bait al-Māl*) on the part of Abū Huraira who was consequently discharged.² "‘Umar, thereupon," says al-Balādhurī, "assigned ‘Uthmān b. Abī ‘l-‘Āṣ al-Thaqafī as governor (of al-Bahrain and ‘Umān) who still held the office at the death of ‘Umar."³ In the circumstances, there is no contradiction or disagreement between al-Ṭabarī and al-Balādhurī regarding the appointment of ‘Uthmān al-Thaqafī in 23 A.H. It may, therefore, be accepted that Indian expeditions were undertaken in 23/643 immediately after ‘Uthmān al-Thaqafī had assumed charge of al-Bahrain and ‘Umān. This date is, further, confirmed by the *Chach-Nāma*, our authority second only to al-Balādhurī so far as the recording of the early Arab expedition to India is concerned inasmuch as it places the date of the naval attack against Debal shortly before the assassination of ‘Umar, i.e., in 23 A.H.

The Arab expedition against Thāna was a success

The result of and not a failure. For had it been
the Expeditions. a failure, it would have resulted in a

1. Ibn al-Athīr, vol. ii, p. 379; Balādhurī, pp. 82 seq=Hitti, pp. 125 seq.

2. Balādhurī, loc. cit.

3. Ibid. That ‘Uthmān was appointed governor of both al-Bahrain and ‘Umān is known from the fact that while he was engaged in warfare in Fāris, his substitute over the provinces was his brother al-Mughīra or Hafs. Further, we have it in clear terms in the *Mu‘jam al-Buldān*, vol. i, p. 509: "Then he (‘Umar) appointed ‘Uthmān al-Thaqafī governor of al-Bahrain and ‘Umān, who still held the office at the death of ‘Umar."

4. *Chach-Nāma*, pp. 57-58. (Eng. tr. by Mirzā Kalich Beg Fredun Beg, Karachi, 1900). It places the event in 11/632 which is, evidently, wrong as ‘Umar succeeded to the Caliphate in 13/634. He was assassinated on Tuesday, the 27th Dhū ‘l-Hijja, 23/October 644 (Ibn al-Athīr, vol. ii, p. 26).

disaster for the Arabs. Who knows that they would not have been killed to a man? But as it is, nothing of the kind took place. As a matter of fact, they returned home (evidently with flying colours) with not a single soul lost, as is clear from the speech of the Caliph to 'Uthmān al-Thaqafī, who was responsible for the expedition. The Arabs did not proceed further, not because their arms were not victorious, but because they were not allowed to proceed by Caliph 'Umar himself. The reason for Caliph's action is not far to seek. An empire-builder and a statesman unparalleled in world history, Caliph 'Umar did not wish to play ducks and drakes with human lives.¹ Once an expedition had been despatched, his sole concern was to send supplies for the strengthening of the forces of Islām; he instructed his Generals to keep him informed of the developments so that he might issue necessary directions. Thus every inch of ground that his soldiers gained was the outcome more of the strict adherence, on the part of the Generals, to the superb plan and method of the Caliph than of their individual skill and knowledge of strategy.² Never did he venture upon an engagement which he could not reinforce with men and munitions regularly. This, perhaps, is the reason why, with all his military genius, the Caliph 'Umar fought shy of naval expeditions.³ The historical data given below will further clarify the point.

The Arabs were not as experienced in naval fighting as their counterparts, the Romans and the Persians, were.⁴ As a result, the naval expedition sent against Fāris proved unsuccessful. This was undertaken without the Caliph's sanction in 17/639 by 'Alā' b.

1. Muir, *Caliphate* (Edinburgh, 1915), p. 205.

2. Ḥakīm Aḥmad Husain, *Tarjuma Tārikh-i-Ibn Khaldūn* (Allahabad, 1901), vol. iv, Bk. II, p. 155.

3. Cf. Elliot, loc. cit.

4. Sayyid Sulaymān Nadawī, *'Arabūn kī Jahāzrānī*, pp. 52-53—*Islamic Culture*, vol. xv, art. Arab Navigation, p. 445.

Al-Ḥaḍramī, the adventurous governor of al-Bahrain.¹ The Muslim army sustained a heavy loss in this expedition which would have ended in a still greater disaster but for the timely arrival of reinforcements from al-Baṣra.² This sad incident made a bad impression on 'Umar with regard to naval expeditions as a whole. And when Mu'āwīya, the governor of Syria and Egypt, sought the sanction of the Caliph to undertake a naval action against the Romans, he wrote, "You are well aware of the punishment inflicted, on this score, on 'Alā' b. al-Ḥaḍramī."³ The Arabs had yet hardly any time for acquiring efficiency in this art of fighting on account of their pre-occupations elsewhere.

Taking it for granted that the Caliph's approval for naval expedition could not be had, 'Uthmān al-Thaqafī ventured upon the Indian expedition at his own risk. But even the successful termination of the expedition to Thāna could not satisfy the Caliph who administered a sharp rebuke to 'Uthmān. "O brother of Thaqif," wrote the Caliph, "thou hast put a worm upon the wood. By Allāh, I swear that if they had been smitten, I would have exacted from thy tribe the equivalent."⁴

As regards two other expeditions, the one against Debal ended, according to the *Chach-Nāma*, in discomfiture for the Arabs, their General al-Mughīra being killed in the encounter. This statement is not true as Yāqūt⁵ has it that al-Mughīra, the leader of the expedition, was alive as late as 29/650, if not later. For in that year he was allotted a plot of land by his brother 'Uthmān al-Thaqafī at Shaṭṭ 'Uthmān, on the

1. Tabarī, vol. i, pp. 2545 seq.; Ibn al-Athīr, vol. ii, pp. 264-65.

2. Tabarī, vol. i, pp. 2548-49.

3. Ibid., p. 2822, quoted in *Arabūn kī Jahāzzānī*, p. 53; also Islamic Culture, loc. cit. Al-'Alā' was punished with dismissal from his office in Bahrain (Tabarī, vol. i, p. 2548).

4. Balādhurī, p. 432 = Murgotten, p. 209.

5. Cf. *Mu'jam al-Bulḍān*, ed. Wustenfeld (Leipzig, 1866), vol. iii, pp. 290-91, & v, p. 645.

shore of the Euphrates in al-Baṣra, where his house was built and was known as Mughīratān.¹ Thus the version of al-Balādhurī that al-Mughīra was victorious at Debal² stands.³

1. 'Uthmān al-Thaqafī had four brothers: (i) al-Ḥakam, (ii) al-Mughīra, (iii) Ḥafṣ and (iv) Umayya. During the Caliphate of 'Uthmān, they came over to al-Baṣra and settled down. A fairly big area of land 'in the neighbourhood of al-Ubullah' on the shore of the Euphrates, was granted to 'Uthmān al-Thaqafī and was known after his name Shaṭṭ 'Uthmān or the coast of 'Uthman. 'Uthmān gave each of his brothers a portion of this land to build his quarters therein. Each house bore a particular name after its owner. The quarters of al-Mughīra was thus called Mughīratān. Similarly, the quarters of other brothers were known after their names as Ḥakamān, Ḥafṣān and Umayyātān (Balādhurī, pp. 351-52, 362 = Murgotten, pp. 69, 86; *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, vol. i, p. 645). The document authorizing the grant of land on behalf of Caliph 'Uthmān which was written on the 22nd of Jumada II, 29/February 650, reads as follows (*Mu'jam al-Buldān*, vol. iii, pp. 290-91):

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم، هذا كتاب عبدالله عثمان امير المؤمنين
عثمان بن ابي العاصي انا اعطيتك الشط لمن ذهب الى الابله من البصرة
والمقابلة قريه الابله والقرية التي كان الاشعري عمل فيها واعطيتك
ماكان الاشعري عمل من ذلك واعطيتك براح ذلك الشط اجمة و سبخة
فيما بين الحرارة الى دير جابيل الى القبرين اللذين على الشط العقابيلين
للابله واعطيتك ما عملت من ذلك انت و بنوك ان واحدا تعطيه شيئا من
ذلك من اخوتك فاعتمله من عطيتك و امرت عبدالله بن عامران لا يمنعمك
شيئا اخذتموه ترون انكم تستطيعون عمله من ذلك فما كان فيه بعد ما
عملتم و اخترتم من فضل لا ترونكم ما عملتموه فليس لكم ان تتحولوا دونه
لمن اراد امير المؤمنين ان يعمل فيه حجة له واعطيتك ذلك عوضا عن
ارضك التي اخذت منك بالمدينة التي اشتراها لك امير المؤمنين عمر بن
الخطاب رض و ما كان فيما سميت فضل عن تلك الارضين فانها عطية
اعطيتك اياها اذ عزلتكم عن العمل و قد كتبت الى عبدالله بن عامران
يعينك في عملك ويحسن لك العون فاعمل باسم الله وعونه و امسك شهد
المغيرة بن الاخفش و الحارث بن الحكم بن العاصي وفلان بن ابي فاطمة
و كتب و تاريخه لثمان بقين من جمادى الآخرة سنة ٢٩ -

2. Balādhurī, loc. cit.

3. As the Arabic original of the *Chach-Nāma* together with the name of its author has been lost beyond any hope of recovery, the value of the book as an authority becomes highly doubtful and consequently the authority of al-Balādhurī in contrast with that of the *Chach-Nāma* becomes at once indisputable and unassailable. In the light of the above, the depreciatory remarks of Dr. R.C. Majumdar (*vide*

ṢAḤĀBA IN INDIA DURING THE CALIPHATE OF 'UMAR

We have just noticed how during the Caliphate of 'Umar the Arabs reached India by land and sea. This period synchronized with the golden age of the Companions of the Prophet. No faction—Shi'ite or Khārijite—no partisan spirit—Umayyad or Hāshimite,—has yet disturbed the unity brought about by the Prophet in an earstwhile warring society of Arabia. The Companions to a man stood solid behind Islām. Their sole concern was to deliver the message of Islām to the mankind at large. So in the course of twelve years of the Prophet's demise (i.e., 23 A.H.), they appeared, on the one hand, beyond the Nile and as far as the Indus, on the other. As a matter of fact, of the Companions who participated in the Indian Campaigns, the following names have come down to us: (1) 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Utban,¹ (2) 'Āṣim b. 'Amr al-Tamīmī,² (3) Ṣulḥār b. al-'Abdī,³ (4) Suhail b.

Journal of Indian History, Madras, vol. x, Part I, art. The Arab Invasion of India, reprinted, Madras, 1931, pp. 28-29) and for the matter of that the historian Elliot (*vide History of India*, vol. i, pp. 415-16) regarding the powers of the Arabs and their Caliph, do not bear any scrutiny since they are based on the *Chach-Nāma*.

1. 'Abd Allāh was attached to the Banū-I-Hublā, a tribe of the Anṣārs in al-Madīna. He was one of the noblest of the Companions of the Prophet and leading members of the Anṣārs (Tabarī, vol. i, p. 2635). In 21/641 he succeeded Sa'd as governor of al-Kūfa (Ibid., pp. 2608-09). Towards the close of this year he was transferred to the governorship of al-Baṣra and then he started his career of conquest in the Eastern Persia and in the frontiers of India. His death-date has not been mentioned. Cf. *Isāba*, vol. ii, pp. 817 seq; *Tajrid*, vol. i, p. 345; *Uṣd al-Ghāba*, vol. iii, p. 199.

2. A Companion of the Prophet, 'Āṣim b. 'Amr al-Tamīmī was one of the illustrious Arab soldiers of early Islam (Tabarī, vol. i, p. 2569). He played a conspicuous part in the conquest of al-'Irāq where he fought under the celebrated Khālīd b. al-Walīd (vol. i, pp. 2027, 2058 seq). He was the first Arab General who overran the territory west of the Helmund. We also meet him on the Indus Valley. Cf. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'yāb* (Hyderabad, 1336 A.H.), vol. ii, p. 500; *Isāba*, vol. ii, p. 614.

3. Ṣulḥār belonged to the tribe of 'Abd al-Qais. In 8/630 he arrived in al-Madīna with the deputation from Ḥuḍr and embraced Islām. During the Caliphate of 'Umar he came over to al-Baṣra where he settled down. He participated in the eastern campaign. From his description

'Adī,¹ and (5) al-Ḥakam b. Abī 'l-'Āṣ al-Thaqafī.²

ṢAḤĀBA IN INDIA DURING THE CALIPHATE OF
'UTHMĀN [23-35/643-55]

After their first flush of victory in the region extending from Mukrān to that part of Sind which comprised the west of Indus, the Arabs retired after the natives had agreed to pay the usual tribute. But the wild and warlike hill tribes could have hardly been subdued permanently. Evidently, therefore, as soon as the Arabs left the country they revolted and stopped tribute.

Consequently, the next Caliph 'Uthmān sent 'Ubaid
'Ubaid Allāh b. Allāh b. Ma'mar al-Tamīmī who was
Ma'mar al-Tamīmī. a Companion of the Prophet³ to

or the region east of the Indus as given above, it is evident that Suhār was thoroughly acquainted with the topography of the place and also came in contact with the native people. He was a *Nāsibī*, pro-'Uthmānite and died in al-Baṣra probably in the latter days of Mu'awīya. Cf. Ibn Sa'd, vol. vii, Part I, p. 61; *al-Istī'yāb*, vol. i, p. 322; *Usd al-Ghāba*, vol. ii, p. 11; *Tajrīd*, vol. i, p. 282; *Iṣāba*, vol. ii, p. 472.

1. Suhail belonged to the tribe of Azd and was attached to the Banū 'l-Asbhal. Of his *ṣuhbat* (companionship) with the Prophet, we have no direct evidence. But since in 17/639 he was a leader of the military campaign in al-Jazīra (Tabarī, vol. i, p. 2499), it may be assumed that during the lifetime of the Prophet, he was sufficiently grown up to have the privilege of being a Companion particularly because of the fact that his brothers were very much loyal to the Prophet. Thus Sahal b. 'Adī, al-Ḥārith b. 'Adī, 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Adī and Thābit b. 'Adī fought in the battle of Uhud. What lends an additional support to our assertion is that a notice of him is seen in the principal works of the Companion. Cf. *Istī'yāb*, vol. i, p. 578; *Usd al-Ghāba*, vol. iii, p. 22; *Tajrīd*, vol. i, p. 363; *Iṣāba*, vol. iii, p. 22.

2. Al-Ḥakam was one of those Ṣaḥāba who migrated to al-Baṣra (Ibn Sa'd, vol. vii, p. 27). He transmitted Ḥadīth on the authority of the Prophet, while Mu'awīya b. Qurra al-Muzanī (d. 113) had it from al-Ḥakam. He belonged to the tribe of Thaqīf. All the adult members of this tribe embraced Islām before 11 A.H. and participated with the Prophet in Ḥijjāt al-Wadā', the farewell pilgrimage (*Iṣāba*, vol. i, p. 703). No reasonable doubt should, therefore, arise as to the *bona fide* of his being a Ṣaḥābī and counting his Ahādīth as Marfū'. Further, we have it on the authority of al-Dhahabī that al-Ḥakam had companionship with the Prophet (أبو لهبة). He was still living in 44/664 (Tabarī, vol. ii, p. 80). Cf. *Tajrīd*, vol. i, p. 145; *Usd al-Ghāba*, vol. ii, p. 35; *Istī'yāb*, vol. i, p. 118; *Iṣāba*, vol. i, p. 707.

3. 'Ubaid Allāh, who lived in al-Madīna, was a younger Companion of the Prophet. He transmitted Ḥadīth and was a man of vast fortune.

subdue them.¹ On his arrival in Mukrān, 'Ubaid Allāh not only crushed the rebellion in the teeth of a stiff opposition but brought the territory extending upto the Indus under his control as well.² Henceforth Arab hold over the region appears to have taken a permanent footing. For, in 296/30 'Ubaid Allāh was transferred to Fāris and 'Umar b. 'Uthmān was appointed in his place.³

'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Samura b. Ḥabīb b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān Shams b. 'Abd Manāf was the next b. Samura. Ṣaḥābī⁴ who was mentioned in connection with the Indian campaign during the Caliphate of 'Uthmān. He succeeded al-Rabi' b. Ziyād al-Ḥārithī as governor of Sistān in 31/650.⁵ The new governor was a soldier of great dash and drive. Immediately after he had taken over the charge, he pushed eastward from Zaranj and brought the region right upto the frontiers of India under subjection. Advancing on the lower waters of the Helmund, he came in conflict with the Indians near Rudbar on the frontier between modern Afghānistān and Baluchistān.⁶ Their first triumphal career led

Cf. al-Istī'yāb, vol. ii, p. 504; *Uṣd al-Ghāba*, vol. iii, p. 345; *Tajrīd*, vol. i, p. 391, *Iṣāba*, vol. iii, pp. 153 seq.

1. The date of 'Ubaid Allāh's appointment in Mukrān has not been mentioned. From the context of the events in al-Tabarī (vol. i, pp. 2828-29) it appears that immediately after his assuming office in 23/644 Caliph 'Uthmān sent him to Mukrān.

2. Tabarī, vol. i, p. 2829, cf. *supra*, p. 5 and note 3 of p. 6.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 2830.

4. He belonged to the tribe of the Quraish and embraced Islām on the day of the conquest of Makka in 8/629 when the Prophet gave him the name of 'Abd al-Raḥmān, his pre-Islamic name being 'Abd Kilāl or 'Abd al-Ka'ba. In 9/630 he accompanied the Prophet to the battle of Tabūk. He transmitted Ḥadīth on the authority of the Prophet and obtained the proud distinction of being Shaykh (teacher in Ḥadīth) of Ibn 'Abbās, Sa'īd b. al-Mussayyab, Ibn Sīrīn, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Laila and al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. Of his *Aḥādīth*, one occurs in the Ṣaḥīḥān and another two in Muslim alone. Cf. Ibn Sa'd, vol. vii, Part II, p. 101; *Ist'yāb*, vol. ii, pp. 393-94; *Uṣd al-Ghāba*, vol. iii, pp. 297-98; *Iṣāba*, vol. ii, pp. 903-64; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb* (Hyderabad, 1325), vol. vi, p. 190; *Khulāṣa*, p. 193.

5. Elliot, vol. i, loc. cit.

6. R.C. Majumdar, op. cit., p. 15.

them as far as Bust. Three marches above Bust lay a mountain containing a temple of Surya (Arab. Zūr), an idol of gold with two rubies for the eyes. This mountain which became famous as al-Zūr was then situated in the territory of Sind.¹ Ibn Samura went into the temple and cut off a hand and took out the rubies. But the gold and the jewels were returned by him to the astonished governor of the place saying, "I only wanted to show you that it had no power whatsoever to harm or to help."² Now after his successful penetration into the territory of Sind 'Abd al-Raḥmān retired to Zaranj. He died in 50/670 in his residence at al-Baṣra where Sikka Ibn Samura³ or the street of Ibn Samura was called after his name.

ṢAḤĀBA IN INDIA DURING THE CALIPHATE OF MU'AWIYA [41-60/661-81]

Sinān b. Salma al-Hudhalī [8-53/629-73]

The last Companion of the Prophet we meet on the frontiers of India was Sinān b. Salma b. al-Muḥabbiq al-Hudhalī.⁴ Ziyād, the governor of al-'Irāq, appointed him commander for the Indian frontiers in 48/668.⁵ On proceeding to assume charge of his functions he conquered Mukrān, founded cities, set up his residence and organized the revenue system of the

1. *Mu'jam al-Bulḍān*, vol. ii, p. 956; Le Strange, p. 345.

2. *Balādhurī*, p. 394.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 352.

4. He was born in 8 629 and was blessed by the Prophet who himself conferred the name Sinān upon him. Therefore, he was Ṣaḥābī *bona fide* because the Prophet saw him in his infancy (*Iṣāba*, vol. i, p. 4). Ibn Ḥajar recognizes him as a junior Companion and as such includes his name in the second section—*qism thānī*—of his *Iṣāba* (vol. ii, pp. 322-23). So the traditions transmitted by Sinān direct from the Prophet are *Marāsīl*. His Aḥādīth have been preserved in the *Ṣaḥīḥūn*, the *Sunans* of Abū Dāwūd, Ibn Māja and al-Nasā'ī (*Khulāṣa*, p. 132). Cf. *Tajrīd*, vol. i, p. 258; *Uṣd al-Ghāba*, vol. ii, pp. 357-58; *Iṣṭi'yāb*, vol. ii, p. 506.

5. Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadhara't al-Dhakab* (Egypt, 1351-53 A.H.) vol. i, p. 55.

place¹—thus proved himself a capable general and good administrator. But for reasons unknown he was discharged. Rāshid b. 'Amr al-Judaīdī of the tribe of Azd who superseded him, however, fell in action with the Meds. In 50/670 Sinān was recalled and confirmed to the post.² He gave as before a good account of himself by conquering al-Qayqān and Budh where he ruled for two years. He was killed at Quṣḍār³ (mod. Khozdar in Baluchistān) in 53/673.⁴

Al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufra al-Azdī [8-83/629-702]

Al-Muhallab, who was a senior Ṭābi'ī⁵ visited India during the Caliphate of Mu'āwīya. As a general

1. Balādhurī, p. 434 = Murgotten, p. 213; Elliot, vol. i, p. 424; *Chach-Nāma*, p. 65.

2. *Chach-Nāma*, p. 65.

3. Balādhurī, loc. cit.; Elliot, vol. i, p. 425. Topography of the region: "On the north-eastern frontiers of Makrān, and close to the Indian border the Arab geographers describe two districts; namely, Tūrān, of which the capital was Quṣḍār, and Budahah to the north of this, of which the capital was Qandābīl" (Le Strange, p. 331). "Qandābīl has been identified with the present Gandava, lying south of Sibi and east of Kelat." (Ibid., p. 332). Budahah or Budh is no doubt the same as Budha, and this principality seems to have included the districts of Balis and Walistan. Cf. R.C. Majumdar, *Arab Invasion*, p. 55.

4. A little confusion is observed regarding the death-date of Sinān. According to Ibn Sa'd (vol. viii, Part I, p. 154) who is corroborated by later authorities on the *Asmā' al-Rijāl*, Sinān died during the latter days of al-Hajjāj (83-96/702-713). This seems to be absurd, for, both the *Futūḥ al-Buldān* and the *Chach-Nāma* are at one to record the death of Sinān during his campaign in the frontiers of India and that he died before the appointment of al-Mundhir b. Jarūd in his (Sinān's) place by 'Ubaid Allāh b. Ziyād (Ibn Sa'd, vol. vii, Part I, p. 61; cf. Balādhurī, loc. cit.; *Chach-Nāma*, p. 65). Now al-Mundhir appears to be the first officer in charge of the Indian frontiers since 'Ubaid Allāh's appointment as governor of the eastern provinces (57-67/676-86) and as such al-Mundhir must have been appointed in 57 A.H. Hence Sinān died before 57 A.H. As a matter of fact, appointed second time in 50 A.H., Sinān ruled over the frontiers for two years. So his death must have occurred in 53 A.H. Further, had Sinān died during *akhīr walāyat al-Hajjāj*, as asserted by Ibn Sa'd, the *liqā'*, meeting between himself and Qatāda (d. 117), the Traditionist, would have been established in view of the fact that both of them lived in al-Baṣra (cf. *Tahdhīb*, s.v. Sinān b. Salma and Qatāda). But the critics of *Ruwāt* are of opinion that Qatāda did never meet him (*lam yalqahu*). Nor did he hear any ḥadīth from Sinān (ibid., vol. iv, p. 241). Therefore, the fact remains that Sinān had been martyred in the frontiers of India some seven years before the birth of Qatāda in 61 A.H.

5. As his name occurs in *al-Isti'yāb*, *Uṣḍ al-Ghāba*, *Tajrīd* and *Iṣāba*

under 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Samura, al-Muhallab came to Sijistān in 43/663.¹ Having detached himself from the main army, he penetrated into the heart of India with a troop mostly picked from his own tribe, the Azd. Marching on the border land of Kābul, he advanced as far as Lahore² and raided the country between it and Bannū in 44/664.³ The details of the raid are nowhere

(s.v. al-Muhallab b. Abī Šufra), one is apt to look upon him as a Companion of the Prophet. But according to the consensus of opinion of the critics of the *Asmā' al-Rijāl*, al-Muhallab was a senior Ṭābi'ī, and not a *Ṣaḥābi*. He transmitted Ḥadīth on the authority of the Companions of the Prophet, viz. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr b. al-'Aṣ, Samura b. Jundab and Barā' b. al-'Ādhib, while on his authority Abū Ishāq al-Sabi'yy, Simāk b. Ḥarb and 'Umar b. Saif al-Baṣrī narrated Ḥadīth. He was a reliable *Rāwī*. He was born in 8/629 and died at Raghūl (Tabarī, vol. ii, p. 1082, has Zāghūl) in Marw al-Rūdh, a district of Khorāsān. *Vide Tabaqāt*, vol. vii, Pt. I, p. 94; Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-Asmā' al-Lughat* ed. Wustenfeld (Göttingen, 1842-47), p. 582; Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* (Hyderabad, 1325 A.H.), vol. v, pp. 328-29; Ibn Khallikān (Cairo, 1310 A.H.), vol. ii, pp. 145 seq. The Ḥadīth transmitted by al-Muhallab have been produced in the *Sunans* of Abū Dāwūd and al-Nasa'ī, the *Jāmi'* of al-Tirmidhī and the *Musnad* of Ahmad b. Hanbal (*Khulāṣa*, p. 333). For further particulars about him, see *Ency. of Islam*, vol. ii, pp. 640-41; Islamic Culture, Hyderabad, vol. xvii, No. 1 (January, 1943), pp. 1-14.

1. Balādhurī, pp. 396-97; *Iṣāba*, vol. ii, p. 963.

2. Briggs in his translation of the *Tārīkh-i-Firishṭa* (Calcutta, 1908, vol. i, p. 4) states that al-Muhallab 'penetrated as far as Mooltan'. But curiously enough, no such account is found in the original Persian text of the work (cf. *Tārīkh-i-Firishṭa*, ed. Newul Kishore Press, Lucknow, 1874, p. 16). The translator must have derived the information from al-Balādhurī's *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, the earliest source on the subject, but, we are afraid, he has not been able to follow the Arabic text which runs thus:

فاتى (المهلب) بنه والاهوار وهما بين الملتان وكابل

He, i.e., al-Muhallab reached Banna and al-Ahwār towns between Multān and Kābul (Balādhurī, p. 432=Murgotten, p. 210). It is unfortunate that owing to the incorrect rendering which has been freely quoted by historians and writers (e.g. Elliot, op. cit., vol. ii, pp. 414-15; M. Titus, *Indian Islām*, Oxford, 1930, p. 48; in the last work, reference to Briggs' tr. is wanting) that the integrity of the historian Abū 'I-Qāsim Firishṭa has been exposed to unnecessary criticism (see R.C. Majumdar, op. cit., p. 18, note.)

3. Balādhurī, p. 432=Murgotten, p. 210; Elliot, vol. ii, p. 414. The raiding ground, according to al-Balādhurī, was Banna and al-Ahwār. Banna is no doubt the present Bannū in N.-W. Frontier Province, but the identification of al-Ahwār has given rise to difference of opinion among modern historians. Elliot (loc. cit.), B. Meynard, *Dictionnaire de la Perse*, p. 118), S. Sulaymān Nadawī (*vide Futūḥ al-Buldān* in possession of Dār-al-Muṣannifin, Aẓamgarh, marginal note on p. 432) identify it with Lahore, whereas R. C. Majumdar (loc. cit.), failing to locate the spot, takes

available. Fortunately, Firishta gives us an important piece of information incidentally throwing light on a question relating to *Asmā' al-Rijāl*, namely, that al-Muhallab carried away with him from India twelve thousand prisoners of whom some embraced Islām inasmuch as al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī has it that Khalaf b. Sālim al-Sindī (d. 231), a *Mawlā* (client) of the family of al-Muhallab, was a distinguished *Rāwī* of Indian origin. In the light of the above, we can safely presume that Khalaf might have been a descendant of one of the aforesaid war-prisoners.

Though a number of Ṣaḥāba visited India, as has been seen above, they could not do the work of Hadith transmission to this country notwithstanding the fact that they must have had with them Aḥādīth, the Companions of the Prophet that they were, because either their stay here was too short or they did not find permanent Muslim colonists to whom they could bequeath the science. Anyway, the details to this effect are lacking. In the circumstances, the work of Hadith transmission could not begin in right earnest—as a matter of fact did not begin—until the nineties of the first century of the Hijra when Sind was brought under the Muslim sway.

it to have been a town somewhere near Bannū. This difference may be explained away by variants in the reading of the place in the original MSS. of the *Futūḥ al-Bulḍān*, viz. al-Ahwāz, al-Ahwār and Luhawur (*Futūḥ al-Bulḍān*, ed. De Goeje, p. 432, note), Luhūr (Marāsīd al-Iṭṭilā' ref. by De Goeje) and Lāhur (*Mu'jam al-Bulḍān*, vol. i, p. 747).

(وفى كتاب الفتوح غزا المهلب بن ابي صفرة في سنة ٢٣٠ ايام معاوية ثغر السند فأتى به و لاهور)

Al-Ahwāz was the capital of Khuzistān (Le Strange, p. 233) and as such has nothing to do with India. Omitting the dot on 'ز' the oft-repeated al-Ahwār becomes the same as al-Ahwāz and is accounted for due to the slip of the scribe of the original MS. The identification of Ahwāz with Lahore, may, in our opinion, be safely dismissed. In the circumstances there is no other alternative left but to identify Luhawur with Lahore. Both Yāqūt (loc. cit.) and Cunningham (*Ancient Geography of India*, ed. Patna, 1924, pp. 226-27) support our assertion.

CHAPTER II

HADITH LITERATURE IN SIND UNDER THE ARABS

Section I. Arab Colonies in Sind

THE foundation of an Arab principality in Sind in the nineties of the first century A.H. was an epoch-making event in that it threw the gates of the territory open to the Arabs. Besides the sea-route with which they had already been acquainted ever since their commercial relations with India,¹ the land-route issuing from al-Baṣra via Shīrāz, Kirmān and Mukrān coast to Sind, now came into use more and more.² So, both by land and sea, Sind was linked up with Arabia and the communication between these neighbouring countries became very much facilitated. Through these routes numerous Arab immigrants poured into Sind since its conquest in 93/711 by Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim who encouraged the Arabs to colonize the newly conquered territory.³ They spread over the country, and almost all the harbours and important towns from Mukrān coast to Debal and thence right up to Multān were dotted with their settlements.⁴ Like their compatriots in South India, these Arab settlers set up themselves as merchants and formed the *via media* of commercial intercourse between Sind and the neighbouring countries of India and the world outside.⁵

1. Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs* (Cambridge, 1928), pp. 4-5, quoting from A. Muller's *Der Islām Im Morgen Und Abendland*, vol. i, pp. 24 seq.; Sayyid Sulaymān Nadawī, *'Arab wa Hind Ki Ta'alluqāt* (Allahabad, 1930), p. 7; Tara Chand, *Influence of Islām on Indian Culture* (Allahabad, 1936), p. 29.

2. *Vide supra*, p. 6; R.C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

3. Balādhurī, p. 437 = Murgotten, p. 218.

4. Nadawī, *op. cit.*, pp. 304 seq.; Elliot, vol. i, p. 468.

5. Arnold, *The Preachings of Islām* (London, 1935), p. 273; Elliot, vol. i, p. 467.

Apart from the colonists there were also Arab soldiers who settled down in Sind, swelling the Arab population of the territory. The vastness of their number may be gauged from the fact that Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim stationed at Multān alone 'nearly 50,000 horsemen as a permanent force.'¹ There were other places of the like military importance, viz., Maṣūra, Alor, etc., where evidently Arab forces were posted on a permanent basis.

Thus arose and flourished in the far eastern territory of the Caliphate several Arab colonies of which the principal were Maṣūra, Multān, Debal, Sindān, Quṣḍār and Qandābil.² These colonies early became seats of Islamic learning in Sind.

Section II. Transmission of Islamic Learning to Sind

In the wake of the advent of the Arab soldiers and immigrants, early Islamic learning, viz., al-Qur'ān and al-Ḥadīth, found its way to Sind. It was probably brought to the west of the Indus earlier than to the east and that as a result of the difference in the timings of the advent of the Muslims in those regions. In 23/643, during the Caliphate of 'Umar the Arabs overran Mukrān, Ṭūrān and Budaha, the territories comprising the west of the Indus and within a little more than two decades, these became a part of the eastern Caliphate, while the east was conquered at a later date in the days of Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik (86-96/705-14). Further, several Companions of the Prophet, too, came to the region west of the Indus—a fact which strengthens our belief that Islamic sciences were at least brought, if not introduced, there. But to this here is, however, no allusion.

The first direct recorded evidence of Islamic sciences being brought to Sind and their subsequent

1. *Chach-Nama*, p. 192.

2. Nadawī, *op. cit.*, pp. 309 seq.; Elliot, vol. i, p. 465.

dissemination there dates from the conquest of Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim. We are told that among Arab soldiers were many readers of the Qur'ān (qurrā') on whom al-Ḥajjāj enjoined 'to be busy reading it.'¹ Nor was that all. Several men versed in the lore of the Qur'ān and the *Sunna* accompanied Muḥammad to Sind.² Henceforth, with the influx of the Arabs, there came to be settled in Sind learned men also to whose labour and love of knowledge was probably responsible the growth of the seats of Islamic learning in the Arab colonies.

Now, a reference to some of the outstanding personalities of those learned men who carried with them Islamic sciences, particularly Hadīth literature, seems to be called for here.

1. *Mūsā b. Ya'qūb al-Thaqafī*

He accompanied Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim to Sind and was appointed *Qādī* of Alor by the latter. Al-Thaqafī who settled permanently in Sind was highly learned in the *Sunna* of the Prophet.³ His family at Uchh appears to have long enjoyed reputation for learning and scholarship as is evidenced from the fact that as late as 613/1216, Ismā'il b. 'Alī al-Thaqafī, a descendant of his, 'was a mine of learning and a soul of wisdom, and there was no one equal to him in science, piety and eloquence.'⁴

2. *Yazīd b. Abī Kabsha al-Saksakī al-Dimashqī* [d. 97/715]

On his becoming Caliph, Sūlaimān b. 'Abd al-Malik (96-99/714-17) recalled Muḥammad b. Qāsim from Sind and appointed in his place Yazīd b. Abī Kabsha

1. *Chach-Nāma*, p. 78.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 79; also *infra*, No. 1.

3. *Chach-Nāma*, pp. 186-87; Elliot, vol. i, pp. 134, 202.

4. Elliot, p. 132.

who, however, could not live long in Sind. On the eighteenth day of his arrival here, he died.¹

Yazīd was a *Tābi'i*. He received a good many Aḥādīth from Abū 'l-Dardā,² Shuraḥbīl b. Aws³ and Marwān b. al-Ḥakam,⁴ the Companions of the Prophet. He has been reckoned as a *thiqa*, reliable authority, by the critics of the Traditions. Amongst his pupils Abū Bishr, al-Ḥakam b. al-'Uṭaiba, 'Alī b. al-Aqmar, Mu'āwiya b. Qurra al-Muzanī and Ibrāhīm al-Saksakī were noted transmitters of Ḥadīth.⁵ His Aḥādīth occur in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī,⁶ *Kitāb al-Athār* by Muḥammad b. al-Hasan al-Shaibānī and *al-Mustadrak* by al-Ḥākim al-Naisāburī.⁷

3. *Al-Mufaḍḍal b. al-Muhallab b. Abi Sufra* [d. 102/721]

In 102/721, during the Caliphate of Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik (101-05/720-24), a serious rising headed by Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, a former Governor of Khurāsān, was witnessed in al-'Irāq. In his anti-Umayyad designs, Yazīd b. al-Muhallab succeeded in gaining support from al-Kūfa and al-Baṣra. He achieved remarkable initial successes. For, the rule of the Caliph in the provinces of Fāris, al-Aḥwāz, Kirmān and Qandābil (part of Sind) as far as the banks of the Indus⁸ was overthrown and there Yazīd appointed his own men. In order to suppress the rebellion, the Caliph sent his brother Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik. A hard fighting decided the day against Yazīd b. al-Muhallab who along with his sons was

1. Balādhurī, p. 442=Murgotten, p. 225; Ibn al-Athīr, vol. iv, p. 282.

2. *Tajrid*, vol. ii, p. 175.

3. *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 273.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 75.

5. *Tahdhīb*, vol. xi, pp. 354-55; Ibn Ḥajar, *Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb*, ed. Newul Kishore Press, Lucknow, p. 399.

6. *Khulāṣa*, p. 373; cf. *al-Jāmi' al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, ed. Egypt, Kitāb al-Jihād, p. 111.

7. *Tahdhīb*, loc. cit.

8. Elliot, vol. i, p. 440.

slain. The surviving members of his family¹ fled by boat to Qandābil² (modern Gandava), a north-western province of the then Sind.³ But death pursued them thither. Waddā' b. Ḥāmid, the Governor of Qandābil who owed his office to Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, proved treacherous when the Caliph's agent, Ḥilāl b. al-Tamīmī, appeared there in pursuit of them. The brave sons of al-Muhallab, however, did not surrender themselves and most of the leading members fell fighting to the bitter end.⁴

Among al-Muhallab's sons killed at Qandābil in Sind, al-Mufaḍḍal has been singled out as a transmitter of Ḥadīth. He was a Tābi'ī and narrated Ḥadīth⁵ on the authority of al-Nu'mān b. Bashīr, a Companion of the Prophet.⁶ His son Ḥājib, Thābit al-Bunānī (d. 127) and Jarīr b. Ḥāzim narrated Ḥadīth on the authority of al-Mufaḍḍal.⁷

Al-Mufaḍḍal has been regarded by Ibn Ḥibbān and other critics of the Science of Tradition as *ṣaḍuq*, reliable.⁸

4. *Abū Mūsā Isrā'il b. Mūsā al-Baṣrī Nazīl al-Sind* [d. circ. 155/771]

He was a native of al-Baṣra. Perhaps as a trader he came to Sind and set up his residence there as is evident from his nickname *Nazīl al-Sind*.⁹

Abū Mūsā was a reliable *rāwī* and transmitted Ḥadīth on the authority of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī

1. For their names, *vide* Ibn al-Athīr, vol. v, p. 41.

2. Balādhurī, p. 441 = Murgotten, p. 226.

3. *Supra*, p. 18.

4. Balādhurī, loc. cit.; Ibn al-Athīr, loc. cit.

5. His Ḥadīth have been recorded in the *Sumans* of Abū Dāwūd and al-Nasa'ī (*Khuḷāṣa*, p. 330).

6. *Tajrid*, vol. ii, p. 116.

7. *Tahdhīb*, vol. x, p. 275.

8. *Ibid.*; *Taqrīb*, p. 362.

9. Dhahabī, *Mizān*, vol. i, p. 97; *Tahdhīb* (vol. i, p. 261) has *Nazīl al-Hind*.

(d. 110) and Abū Hāzim al-Ashja'ī (d. 115). His rank as a traditionist may be had from the fact that such master traditionists as Sufyān al-Thawrī (d. 161), Sufyān b. 'Uyaina (d. 198) and Yahyā b. Sa'īd al-Qaṭṭān (d. 198) were among his pupils.¹

Al-Bukhārī quotes one of Abū Mūsā's traditions in as many as four different places of his *Ṣaḥīḥ*. His Aḥādīth have also been preserved in the *Sunan* works.²

5. 'Amr b. Muslim al-Bāhilī [d. circ. 123/740]

'Amr was a brother of Qutaiba b. Muslim al-Bāhilī, the famous conqueror of Transoxania.³ He came to Sind as a governor of Caliph 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz (99-101/717-19) and is said to have conducted some successful raids into al-Hind.⁴ It was during his tenure of office that many kings including Jaisinha, son of Dahar, accepted Islām in response to an appeal made to them by the Caliph.⁵

It is interesting to note that 'Amr, despite leading a hazardous life of a soldier, cultivated, to a certain extent, the Science of Tradition as he is credited to have narrated Hadīth on the authority of Ya'lā b. 'Ubaid, while Abū 'l-Ṭāhir himself is said to have received it from him.⁶

'Amr's death-date is not known. He, however, died later than 120/738 as he was 'Āmil over Marw at the time.⁷

6. Al-Rabī' b. Ṣaḥīḥ al-Sa'dī al-Baṣrī [d. 160/776]

A Traditionist and one of the early authors of

1. Sam'ānī, fol. 593a; *Tahdhīb*, loc. cit.; *Taqrīb*, p. 362; *Nuzha*, vol. i, s.v., Isrā'īl b. Mūsā; Ma'ārif, vol. xxii, No. 4, p. 251.

2. *Khulāṣa*, p. 31.

3. Balādhurī, p. 400 = Murgotten, p. 152.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.; Elliot, vol. i, p. 440; Arnold, op. cit., p. 272.

6. *Tahdhīb*, vol. viii, p. 105.

7. Ṭabarī, vol. ii, p. 1661.

IIadith,¹ al-Rabī' b. Ṣabīḥ² surnamed Abū Bakr³ came to India in 160/776 along with a naval squadron under 'Abd al-Malik b. Shihāb al-Misma'i that attacked Barbad⁴ during the Caliphate of al-Mahdī⁵ (158-69/775-85). The Arabs conquered Barbad, then a flourishing port.⁶ But they had to pay very dearly for the success. For, prior to their sailing homeward, they halted there for sometime in the expectation of favourable weather. In the meantime, plague broke out in the coastal places, taking a heavy toll of the Arabs. Al-Rabī' was one of the many who fell victims to it.⁷

1. Hājī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-Zunūn*, ed. Fluegel (London, 1842), vol. iii, p. 28.

2. His father's name has been variously represented as Ṣubḥ (Balādhurī, p. 369=Murgotten, p. 96; Yāqūt, vol. iii, pp. 397-98), Ṣāhib (Tara Chand, op. cit. p. 46) and Ibrāhīm (Ibn Khaldūn, *Tārīkh*, ed. Egypt, vol. iii, p. 209). For the correct name and its reading see *Taqrib*, p. 77; Fattanī, *al-Mughni fī Dalā'il al-Rijāl* (lithographed on the margin of *Taqrib al-Tahdhīb*, Delhi, 1290), p. 133.

3. Abū Hafs, according to Ibn Sa'd, vol. vii, Part I, p. 36, which Tara Chand (loc. cit.) misreads as Abū Hifṣ.

4. Barbad (Elliot, vol. i, p. 446, has Barada) has been identified with the present Bhūrbhūt, near Broach in Gujarāt (Nadawī, op. cit., p. 18).

5. Ṭabarī, vol. iii, pp. 460, 476-77; Ibn al-Athīr, vol. v, p. 19; Ibn Khaldūn, loc. cit.

6. *Shadharāt*, vol. i, p. 247.

7. Ṭabarī, loc. cit. Ibn Sa'd (vol. vii, Part I, p. 36, says (الربيع) خرج

غازيا الى الهند في البكر فمات فدفن في جزيرة من جزائر البكر سنة ١٦٠
So, according to Ibn Sa'd, al-Rabī' died in the open sea and was buried in an island. It is not, however, explicit from the text quoted above whether the death occurred on the way to or back from the Indian expedition. But Ibn 'Imād (*Shadharāt*, loc. cit.), presumably on this authority, goes a step forward and asserts that al-Rabī' died while returning (في الرجعة).

Al-Balādhurī (p. 369) corroborates Ibn Sa'd verbatim. Unfortunately, Murgotten in his translation of the *Futūḥ al-Buldān* has confused the entire text devoted to al-Rabī's Indian expedition by associating with it as its narrator al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110) (cf. Murgotten, p. 96=Balādhurī, p. 396) who predeceased al-Rabī' by half a century. The fact, however, is that al-Rabī' transmitted IIadīth on the authority of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and this is conveyed by روى عن الحسن the verb روى being in the active (معروف) and not in the passive (مجهول) as Murgotten would have us believe. Cf. *Tahdhīb*, vol. iii, p. 247.

Al-Rabī', a native of al-Baṣra, was a disciple of al-Hasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110) under whom he studied Hadith. He also acquired the Science from the leading Traditionists of his age, viz., Hamīd al-Ṭawīl (d. 142), Thābit al-Bunānī (d. 127), Mujaḥid b. Jabar (d. 103) and others. Among his contemporary *Ruwaṭ Ḥadīth*, transmitters of Traditions, al-Rabī' occupied a high place. The celebrated 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mubārak (d. 181), Sufyān al-Thawrī, Wakī' (d. 197), Abū Dāwūd al-Ṭayālīsī (d. 203) and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Mahdī (d. 198) were amongst his pupils transmitting Hadith on his authority.¹ Further, he was one of the pioneers in the field of collecting and codifying Aḥādīth in the second century A.H.²

Section III. Centres of Ḥadīth Learning and their Muḥaddithūn

Although introduced in the second century A.H., as shown above, the study of Ḥadīth in Sind does not appear to have made much headway until the fourth century when great enthusiasm prevailed among native students to seek higher knowledge of the subject abroad. The slow growth of Ḥadīth learning in Sind during early centuries of Islamic rule may be attributed to

Now, the statement of Ibn Sa'd that al-Rabī' died in the open sea is in conflict with that of al-Tabarī who holds that his death took place at Barbad. Of the two statements, the latter is circumstantial and as such better entitled to be accepted. Further al-Tabarī is corroborated by early authorities like Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā (d. 252), (*Tahdhīb*, vol. iii, p. 347) and Bukhārī (d. 256) (*Kitāba l-Du'aḥ*, al-Saghir, Agra, 1323, p. 11) who states that al-Rabī' died in Sind proper (مات في ارض السند).

1. *Tahdhīb*, vol. iii, pp. 247-48; *Mizān & Lisān*, s.v., al-Rabī' b. Sabīḥ. The Aḥādīth narrated by al-Rabī' have been recorded in *al-Ta'hqāt al-Bukhārī*, the *Sunans* of Abū Dāwūd and Ibn Māja (*Khulāsa*, p. 98; cf. *Sunan Ibn Māja*, ed. Fārūqī Press, Delhi, *Kitāh al-Jihād*, p. 204).

2. Ḥājī Khalīfa, op. cit., pp. 80-81; Ibn Hajar, *Muqaddimat al-Fath* (Cairo, 1347), vol. i, p. 4; Tāhir al-Dimashqī, *Tawfīh al-Naṣar* (Cairo, 1910), pp. 7-8; al-Khawī, *Miftāḥ al-Sunna* (Cairo, 1921), p. 21. Notices of his biography will also be found in Bilgrāmī's *Subḥat al-Marjān* (Bombay, 1303) and Hakīm 'Abd al-Ḥayy's *Nuḥa*, vol. i, s.v. al-Rabī' b. Sabīḥ and *Yād-i-Ayyām*, ed. Lucknow, pp. 5-6. In the last named book, the author misrepresents al-Rabī' as a Ṭābi'ī and this has been widely quoted by later writers. Cf. Ma'arīf, vol. xxii, No. 4, p. 251.

two reasons: (1) The circumstances were not favourable for the cultivation of art and literature, because the internal security of the country—so essential a factor for their growth—could not have always been maintained due to the lack of stable and strong Government under the Umayyad and the 'Abbasid Caliphs.¹ As a matter of fact, the status of Sind in the eastern Caliphate was more of a frontier outpost (*thaghr*)² than that of a territory so as to draw the close attention of the central Government; and (2) Sind could not come in contact with the seats of Islamic learning in Arabia, al-'Irāq or other places of the Caliphate, as it lay at a great distance with no easy means of communication. Save enterprising tradesmen and adventurous colonists, nobody dared undertake the hazards of sea or land-routes leading to the territory. Even in the fourth century al-Maqdisī, the famous Syrian Geographer, complained of the difficulties facing a traveller to Sind.³

The foundation of the two independent Arab principalities in Multān and Maṣūra towards the second half of the third century ushered in an era of good Government in Sind. The period of this independent Arab rule was a landmark in the history of their three hundred years' suzerainty over Sind. Peace and prosperity reigned everywhere in the country as evidenced by the accounts of the itinerants visiting the principalities from time to time.⁴ Now, whatever progress the study of Ḥadīth made was due, primarily, to the internal security brought about by these Governments. As a matter of fact, during this period great enthusiasm was marked among the Sindian students to seek abroad higher studies in Ḥadīth literature. We have it on

1. H.C. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India* (Calcutta, 1931), vol. i, pp. 11-13.

2. Al-Balādhurī, pp. 442, 445 = Murgotten, pp. 225-26, 230-31.

3. Al-Bashshārī al-Maqdisī, *Aḥsan al-Taqāsīm fī Ma'rifat al-Aqālīm*, ed. De Goeje (Leyden, 1906), p. 474.

4. Nadawī, op. cit., pp. 309 seq. 345; Elliot, vol. i, pp. 454-57.

the authority of al-Sam'ānī (d. 566) that scholars from India (*bilād al-Hind*) went to Nishāpūr to hear Hadith from Abū 'Uthmān al-Ṣābūnī (373-449), the Shāfi'ite savant.¹ This was not all. Hailing from Debal (Ar. al-Daybul), Maṣūra and Quṣḍār, a band of ardent *ṭalibū 'l-ilm* travelled extensively in Arabia, Syria, al-'Irāq, Khurāsān and even Egypt in quest of Hadith. And by the fourth century a *ḥalqa* was established² and oral transmission of Hadith was in progress in Sind.³ Even some exchange of Traditionists between Debal and Baghdād,⁴ and Maṣūra and Khurāsān⁵ was noticed. Thanks to the indefatigable labour of al-Sam'ānī, we have, in his *Kitāb al-Ansāb*, a list of the Sindian students reading abroad in Muslim lands.

(I) STUDY OF HADITH AT DEBAL

A celebrated harbour occupying a site between the present Thatta and Karachi,⁶ Debal, during the Arab rule, had an extensive sea-borne trade with foreign countries.⁷ Its importance under Islām dated from the conquest of Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim (93-96/711-14) who built a mosque and settled 4,000 colonists there.⁸ A centre of trade and commerce, Debal gradually became largely populated by the Arabs.⁹ It was a city of considerable area.¹⁰ Some idea of its population may be had from the number killed by an earthquake in 280/893 during the Caliphate of al-Mu'taḍid (279-89/892-902), which

1. Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, foll. 347a, 347b.

2. E.g. at Maṣūra, see *infra*, p. 38.

3. E.g. at Debal. *Vide Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol. viii, p. 333.

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Mizān*, vol. i, p. 272.

6. Elliot, vol. i, pp. 374 seq; Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, ed. S.N. Majumdar (Patna, 1924), pp. 340 seq; Raverty, *JASB*, 1892, pp. 317 seq; Haig, *Indus Delta Country* (London, 1894), pp. 44 seq; *Gazetteer of the Province of Sind* (Bombay, 1919) B, vol. i, p. 53; Nadawī, *op. cit.*, pp. 391-92.

7. Nadawī, *loc. cit.*

8. Balādhurī, p. 437 = Murgotten, p. 218.

9. Nadawī, *loc. cit.*

10. R.C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

was estimated at one lac and a half.¹ Under the independent Arab rule, Debal was a port of the principality of Maṣūra and had one hundred villages attached to it.²

Side by side with the commercial and administrative activities of the Arabs, there went on the dissemination of Islamic learning. The position of Debal was suitable for the purpose inasmuch as it was linked up by the sea-route with Muslim lands from where scholars of enterprise arrived there. The local institutions apparently housed in mosques provided for instructions in religious sciences. Although prior to the third century the cultural activities of the Arabs do not seem to have developed to any appreciable extent, nevertheless an interest for Ḥadīth literature had already been created at Debal resulting in the production of a number of *Ruwaṭ* ³ whose names are as follows :

TRADITIONISTS OF DEBAL

1. *Abu Ja'far al-Daybulī* [d. 322/934]

The first Debaliese who went out for higher studies in Ḥadīth literature was Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd Allāh al-Daybulī, surnamed Abū Ja'far. He repaired to Makka and read with some noted Makkan traditionists. The date of his arrival there has not come down to us. But from the death-dates of his *shuyūkh* (teachers), all of whom died by the forties of the third century A.H.,⁴ it can be reasonably presumed that he must have reached Makka before that time.

Apart from Ḥadīth, Abū Ja'far studied Ibn 'Uyayna's *Kitāb al-Taṣīr*⁵ under the latter's disciple Sa'īd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Makhzūmī (d. 249) and Ibn al-Mubārak's *Kitāb al-Birr wa 'l-Ṣīla*⁶ under his disciple

1. Suyūfī, *Tārīkh al-Khulafā'*, ed. Calcutta, p. 380 ; Nadawī, loc. cit.

2. Maqdisī, p. 479 ; Nadawī, loc. cit.

3. *Mu'jam al-Bulḍān*, vol. ii, p. 638.

4. See *infra*.

5. Ibn al-Nadīm, *Kitāb al-Fihrist* (Egypt, 1348 A.H.), p. 316.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 319.

al-Ḥusain al-Marwazī (d. 242). He narrated Hadith on the authority of Muḥammad b. Zaynūr (d. 248), a Makkan Traditionist, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ṣābiḥ and others.

Abū Ja'far became *Muḥaddith*, well-versed in the science of tradition. He did not come back to his native land. He stayed on at Makka, devoting himself to the services of Hadith. Abū 'l-Ḥasan Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. Farrās of Makka, Abū 'l-Ḥusain Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥajjāj (d. 368) and Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Muqri (d. 381) transmitted Hadith on the authority of Abū Ja'far. He died at Makka in Jumādā' I, 322/April, 934.¹

2. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Daybuli [d. circ. 345/956]

A son of Abū Ja'far, Ibrāhīm was a Rāwī, transmitter of Hadith. He narrated it on the authority of Mūsā b. Ḥārūn al-Bazzāz (d. 294), the Ḥafīẓ of Baghdād,² and Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Ṣā'igh (d. 291), a Traditionist of Makka.³

3. Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Daybuli [d. 343/954]

A *ṭālib al-'ilm*, *par excellence*, Aḥmad, a pupil of Abū Ja'far, was one of the widely travelled Traditionists of the fourth century.⁴ Practically the whole of the Middle East from the Oxus to the Nile he trotted singly, hearing Hadith from eminent Traditionists.

With material available, we cannot exactly follow Aḥmad's itinerary. Perhaps in the later half of the

1. Ibn al-Muqri was a great Traditionist (Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, foll. 266b, 540b).

2. Khaṭīb, *Tārkh Baghdād*, vol. iii, p. 293; Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, fol. 237a; Maqdisī, *Kitāb al-Ansāb* s.v., al-Daybuli; *Mu'jam al-Bulḍān*, vol. ii, p. 638. *Tahdhīb*, s.v., Md. b. Ibrāhīm; *Shadharāt*, vol. ii, p. 295.

3. Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, fol. 237a.

4. من الغرباء الرحالة المتقدمين في طلب العلم و من الزهاد
Sam'ānī, loc. cit. الفقراء العباد

third century, he went out in quest of Ḥadīth learning and studied in Makka with his compatriot, Abū Ja'far al-Daybulī (d. 322), already a *Muḥaddith* of standing, and Mu'addal b. Muḥammad al-Janadī (d. 308),¹ a descendant of Shā'bī (d. 104).² In Egypt he heard Ḥadīth from 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān and Muḥammad b. Rayyān; in Damascus, from Aḥmad b. 'Umair b. Jawsā, (d. 320), the *Hāfiẓ*; at Bayrūt, from Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān Makḥūla; at Harrān, from al-Ḥusain b. Abī Ma'shar (d. 318), the *Hāfiẓ*; in Baghdād, from Ja'far b. Muḥammad al-Faryābī (d. 301); in al-Basra, from Abū Khalifa al-Qādī (d. 305); at 'Askar Mukarram, from 'Abdān b. Aḥmad al-Jawlaqī (210-306), the *Hāfiẓ*; at Tustar, from Aḥmad b. Zuhair al-Tustarī (d. 312) and at Nishāpūr, from Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. Khuzaima (d. 311). Besides, he received Ḥadīth from many other contemporary Traditionists.

Before the death of Ibn Khuzaima in 311/923 Aḥmad reached Nishāpūr of which cultural and religious life, particularly the *Khānqa*, convent, of al-Ḥasan b. Ya'qūb al-Ḥaddād (d. 336), thronged as it was with sūfis and ascetics,³ attracted him. There he terminated his *wanderjahre* and joined the *Khānqa*. Henceforth, he became pre-eminently an ascetic giving himself up to devotional prayers and abstemious practices. Nevertheless, he went on cultivating the science of tradition. The young al-Ḥākim al-Nisābūrī (321-405) took lessons in Ḥadīth from him.⁴

Aḥmad died at Nishāpūr in 343/954 and was buried in the cemetery of al-Ḥīra. He was wont to put on *ṣūf*, wool, and was often seen walking barefooted.⁵

1. For the correct reading of the *Nisba*, *ibid.*, foll. 137-38.

2. *Ibid.*, fol. 138a.

3. Sam'ānī, fol. 158a.

4. *Ibid.*, fol. 237a.

5. *Ibid.*

It is worth our while to recall the time when an Indian scholar could go to such distant places as Nishāpūr, Baghdād, Damascus, Bayrūt and even Egypt in quest of Ḥadīth and ransack the treasures they offered.

4. *Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Daybulī* [d. 346]

Aḥmad's compatriot and fellow-student, Muḥammad al-Daybulī, had a fair share of travelling (riḥla)—though not so much as Aḥmad's—in quest of Ḥadīth. He received instructions in the science from Abū Khalifa al-Qaḍī (d. 305) of al-Baṣra; Ja'far b. Muḥammad al-Faryābī (d. 301), of Baghdād; 'Abdān b. Aḥmad (210-306) of 'Askar Mukarram; Muḥammad b. al-Hasan of Faryāb¹ and others. A copyist (warrāq) of Ḥadīth literature, Muḥammad distinguished himself as a teacher of al-Ḥākim al-Nisābūrī (d. 405). He died in 346/957.²

5. *Al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Asad al-Daybulī* [d. circ. 350/961]

A disciple of Abū Ya'lā al-Mawṣilī (d. 307), al-Hasan transmitted Ḥadīth in 340/951 in Damascus, his *isnād*, chain of authorities, going back to Jābir b. 'Abd Allāh (d. 78), the Companion of the Prophet. Tammām and others received Ḥadīth from him.³

6. *Khalaf b. Muḥammad al-Daybulī* [d. circ. 360]

Khalaf had his training in Ḥadīth in his native town Debal under 'Alī b. Mūsā al-Daybulī.⁴ He repaired to Baghdād and lectured (ḥaddatha) on Ḥadīth.

1. In the middle age, Faryāb was a most important town of the district of Juzjān in Khurāsān (Le Strange, p. 426).

2. *Ansāb*, fol. 237a.

3. Ibn 'Asākir, *al-Tārīkh al-Kabīr* (Dimashq, 1332), vol. iv, pp. 355-56.

4. A tradition received by Khalaf from his Shaykh 'Alī b. Mūsā al-Daybulī at Debal with *isnād* traced back to Anas runs (*Khaṭīb*, vol. viii, p. 333) : كلام اهل السموات لاحول ولا قوة :

Abu 'l-Husain b. al-Jundī (306-96) of Baghdād and Aḥmad b. 'Umar acquired Ḥadīth from Khalaf.¹

7. *Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥārūn al-Daybulī*
[275-370]

Born at Debal in 275/888, Aḥmad, surnamed Abū Bakr, migrated to Rayy and became famous as al-Rāzī accordingly. Afterwards he settled permanently at Harbiya 'the great northern suburb of the west Baghdād'² and hence he is called al-Ḥarbī.

Abū Bakr studied Ḥadīth in Baghdād under Ja'far b. Muḥammad al-Faryābī (d. 301) and also under Aḥmad b. Sharīk of al-Kūfa. Besides being a transmitter of Ḥadīth, he was well-versed in the science of al-Qirā'at. Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Bādā (d. 420), Abū 'Alī b. Dūmā al-Ni'ālī (346-431)³ and al-Qāḍī Abū 'l- 'Alā al-Wāsiṭī (d. 431) were his pupils. He died in 370/980.⁴

8. *Al-Ḥasan b. Ḥāmid al-Daybulī* [d. 407]

Al-Ḥasan b. Ḥāmid, a Debaliese, unlike his other compatriots, went abroad as a trader and established himself in Baghdād. By his business he amassed a vast fortune and became a leading citizen of Baghdād as is evidenced by the fact that the poet al-Mutannabī (d. 354), while paying a visit to the city, stayed with him. The unique combination of his being a scholar and a commercial magnet impressed the poet so much that he remarked, "Had I eulogized any merchant, I would have certainly eulogized you."⁵ As a philanthropist, he built for the poor and indigent an asylum (Khān) at Darb al-Za'frānī in Baghdād, which came to be known as *Khān Ibn Ḥāmid*.⁶ Side by side with his com-

1. Khaṭīb, loc. cit.

2. Le Strange, p. 51.

3. النعالي، هذه النسبة الى عمل النعال وبيعها

4. Khaṭīb, vol. v, pp. 113-14.

5. Ibid. لو كنت مازحا تاجرا لمدحتك

6. Ibid., vol. vii, pp. 303-04, Ibn 'Asākir, vol. iv, p. 159.

mercial business, he carried on cultural activities. In Ḥadīth, he was a pupil of 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Sa'īd al-Mawṣilī (d. 359),¹ Da'īaj (d. 351), Muḥammad al-Naqqāsh (d. 351) and Abū 'Alī al-Tumarī (d. 360). He was so devotedly attached to Ḥadīth that he would weep while narrating it.² His erudition in the science of tradition may be conceived from this that he went to Damascus and Egypt to lecture on Ḥadīth. He was also a poet and a litterateur (adīb). He died in Egypt in 407/1016.³

9. *Abū 'l-Qāsim Shu'aib b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Daybulī [d. circ. 400/1009]*

He was better known as Abū Qaṭ'ān. He went to Egypt and established a *ḥalqa*, study circle, where he lectured on Ḥadīth. Abū Sa'īd b. Yūnus was a pupil of Abū Qaṭ'ān.⁴

(II) STUDY OF ḤADĪTH IN AL-MANṢŪRA

The great mound of *Bambhra-kā-thul*, or the 'Ruined Tower,' situated near an old bed of the Indus at a distance of 47 miles to the north-east of modern Hyderābād in Sind, represents the ruined city of al-Manṣūra⁵ which, according to al-Balādhurī, was founded by 'Amr, the son of Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim, the conqueror of Sind,⁶ between 110/728 and 120/738.⁷ With the establishment, in 270/883,⁸ of an independent Arab principality in Lower Sind, it steadily rose into

1. Khaṭīb, vol. xii, p. 82.

2. Ibid. 'وكان يبكي ويبيكي'

3. Ibid.

4. Sam'ānī, loc. cit.; Ma'ārif, vol. xxiv, No. 4, p. 247.

5. The discovery of this interesting place was due to the zeal and painstaking labour of A.F. Bellasis, late of the Bombay Civil Service. The coins found were those of Mansūr b. Jamhūr, 'Abd al-Rahmān, Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh and 'Umar (Elliot, vol. i, p. 374; Cunningham, pp. 312-16).

6. Balādhurī, p. 444 = Murgotten, p. 229; Elliot, Cunningham and others misread 'Amr as 'Amru (Elliot, vol. i, p. 371; Cunningham, p. 311).

7. Nadawī, p. 335.

8. Ibid., pp. 341-42.

prominence. By 340/951—when al-Iṣṭakhri visited it¹—al-Manṣūra was a flourishing city with an area of four square miles and was inhabited by the Muslims.² Ibn Hawqal repeated the same account.³ “Al-Manṣūra,” says al-Maqdisi who visited the city in 375/985, “is the metropolis of Sind and resembles well with Damascus. The buildings are constructed of timber and plaster. The big cathedral mosque, standing at the busy market place, is built of brick and stone and roofed with teak like the mosque of ‘Umān. The city had four gates, viz., Bāb al-Baḥr (the sea-gate), Bāb Ṭūrān (the Ṭūrān-gate), Bāb Sindān (the Sindān-gate) and Bāb Multān (the Multān-gate).”⁴

With regard to the religious and intellectual life of al-Manṣūra, al-Maqdisi says, “The people were generally intelligent and given to pious habits. Islām was held in high esteem and its principles were strictly adhered to with no priestcraft to intervene. The Dhimmīs freely worshipped their own gods. The majority of the Muslims were *Aṣḥāb Ḥadīth*, adherents of Apostolic traditions, who were the followers of Imām Dāwūd al-Iṣbahānī (d. 270), the Zāhirite (literalist). In local townships Hanafite jurists were also in evidence, but no Malikite, Hanbalite or Mu‘tazilite; so that Islām was found in its pristine glory and native simplicity, virtue and chastity being at a premium everywhere.”⁵ Learning and the learned had seen their better days in al-Manṣūra.⁶ Since the bulk of the population was *Aṣḥāb Ḥadīth*, cultivation of the science of tradition had naturally been resorted to. Here Traditionists engaged themselves in the pursuit of their own Science. Classes in Ḥadīth were held in

1. Ibid., p. 310.

2. Al-Iṣṭakhri, *Kitāb al-Masālik wa 'l-Mamālik* (Elliot, vol. ii, p. 27).

3. Nadawī, op. cit., p. 345, quoting Ibn Hawqal.

4. Maqdisi, op. cit., p. 479; cf. Nadawī, p. 346.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

different mosques of the city. Scholars were found to compile works on Hadith literature. As an instance, the name of al-Qāḍī Abū 'l-'Abbās al-Manṣūrī as a teacher and a compiler¹ may be cited here.

TRADITIONISTS OF AL-MANṢŪRA

1. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ṣālīḥ al-Manṣūrī

Aḥmad surnamed Abū 'l-'Abbās al-Manṣūrī had his education in Hadith in Fāris under Abū 'l-'Abbās b. al-Athram (d. 336) and at al-Baṣra, under Aḥmad al-Ḥizzānī commonly called Abū Rawq (d. 332).² He then held the office of Qāḍī of Arrajān,³ the westernmost district of Fāris.⁴ That on the occasion of his visit to Bukhārā in 360/970 al-Ḥakīm (d. 405) received Aḥādith from him, suggests that al-Manṣūrī had already established himself as a Traditionist of renown. Further, al-Ḥakīm says that al-Manṣūrī was the most sharp-witted of the scholars he had ever seen.⁵ Towards the seventies of the fourth century when al-Maqdisī visited al-Manṣūra he found that al-Manṣūrī had been lecturing on Hadith⁶ in the *ḥalqa* (study circle) set up by him.⁷ He was an eminent author of the Zāhirite school of theologians and compiled several learned and voluminous works⁸ of which *Kitāb al-Miṣbāḥ al-Kabīr*, *Kitāb al-Hādī* and *Kitāb al-Nayyir* have been men-

1. See *infra*.

2. Sam'ānī, fol. 544a ; *Miṣbāḥ*, vol. i, p. 66 ; *Lisān*, vol. i, p. 272.

3. *Lisān*, loc. cit.

4. Le Strange, p. 268.

5. *Lisān*, loc. cit. *ظرافته* و كان من ظرافته من رايته من العلماء seems to be misprint for *ظريف* pl. of *ظراف*. Al-Sam'ānī, without making any reference to al-Ḥakīm, says *كان اظرف من رايته من العلماء* a statement which has led 'Allāma Sayyid Sulaimān Nadawī (Ma'ārif, vol. xxiv, No. 4, p. 247) to conclude that al-Manṣūrī was a contemporary of al-Sam'ānī (d. 562). But we are of opinion that this was the statement of al-Ḥakīm and not of al-Sam'ānī. Cf. *Lisān*, vol. i, p. 272 ; Sam'ānī, fol. 544a.

6. This is apparent inasmuch as al-Manṣūrī was a Traditionist.

7. Maqdisī, p. 481.

8. *وله كتب جليلته حسنة كبار* Ibn al-Nadīm, op. cit., p. 306.

tioned by Ibn al-Nadīm in his *Kitāb al-Fihrist*.¹ He enjoyed the rank of an *Imām* of the *Zāhirite* school of thought.² Nevertheless, he was charged with coining Ḥadīth which he might have done obviously to strengthen his Madhhab.³

2. *Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Manṣūrī* [d. circ. 380]

He was another traditionist of al-Manṣūra and studied Ḥadīth in al-Fāris and at al-Baṣra under Abū 'l-'Abbās b. al-Athram (d. 336) and others. He was also an *Imām* of the *Zāhirite* school and was a shaykh of al-Ḥakīm al-Nisābūrī (d. 405). Aḥmad flourished in the fourth century A.H.

3. 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far b. Murra al-Manṣūrī
[d. circ. 390]

Himself a pupil of Ḥasan b. al-Mukarram, 'Abd Allāh, like two other Traditionists of al-Manṣūra, distinguished himself as a teacher of al-Ḥakīm al-Nisābūrī, and as such he must also have been a Traditionist of the fourth century A.H. In complexion he was dark,⁴ a fact suggestive of his Indian origin.

(III) STUDY OF AL-ḤADĪTH AT QUṢDĀR⁵

Quṣdār (modern Khozdar in Kalat State, Baluchistan) contains the grave of Sinān b. Salma al-Hudhalī, a Companion of the Prophet, who, during the Caliphate of Mu'āwīya, died a martyr while leading an expedition against the Meds.⁶ Since then Quṣdār changed

1. P. 306.

2. Maqdisī, loc. cit. ; Sam'ānī, loc. cit.

3. Below is a specimen of a fabricated tradition narrated by al-Manṣūrī : *أول من قامى إبليس فلا تقيسوا*. Al-Manṣūrī rests this tradition on his shaykh Abū Rawq, a Malikiite jurist, who was *ṣadūq*, reliable. Hence it was al-Manṣūrī who was the fabricator and not his shaykh, Abū Rawq. Cf. *Lisān*, vol. i, pp. 272, 256.

4. Sam'ānī, foll. 543b, 544a.

5. Quṣdār is the same as Quzdār (*Mu'jam al-Buldān*, vol. iv, p. 86).

6. *Supra*, p. 18.

masters several times between the Arabs and the Meds.¹ Finally, it was annexed to the eastern Caliphate by Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim.²

Under the Arab suzerainty, Quṣḍār was the headquarters of Ṭūrān,³ a region roughly comprising the southern part of the present Baluchistān.⁴ In the middle of the fourth century, an independent Arab chieftain, Muʿin b. Aḥmad, ruled here and recited *khutba* in the name of the then 'Abbāsīd Caliph.⁵ A stronghold of the Khārijites, Quṣḍār was occupied by Sulṭān Sabaktigin (366-87/976-98) sometime between 375/985 and 386/996.⁶

Quṣḍār was a centre of commerce and served as an artery of India's land-trade with Kirmān, Fāris and Khurāsān. Merchants from those countries as also Indians settled here, and had their houses in the business centre of the town which had mosques for the Muslims.⁷

Although we have no direct evidence of any cultural activities undertaken by the Arabs at Quṣḍār, nevertheless it does not necessarily follow that they had altogether dispensed with religious sciences, *that is*, al-Qur'ān and al-Ḥadīth. The factor, as it appears, that retarded the progress of those sciences at Quṣḍār as also elsewhere in Sind, lay, as has been stated above, in the absence of a stable and strong Government during the early centuries of Arab sway over the country. This is borne out by the fact that we have been able to meet only two Quṣḍārī Muḥaddithūn until the fifth century A.H. We can, therefore, safely presume that the study of Ḥadīth at Quṣḍār must have been started

1. Balādhurī, p. 434 = Murgotten p. 213.

2. *Chach-Nāma*.

3. Maqdisī, p. 478; Nadawī, p. 395; I.e. Strange, p. 331.

4. R.C. Majumdar, op. cit., pp. 54-55.

5. Ibn Ḥawqal, ref. by Nadawī.

6. Nadawī, p. 395; Firishṭa, *Tārīkh* (Cawnpore, 1874), vol. i, p. 19.

7. Maqdisī, loc. cit.; *Muʿjam al-Bulḍān*, vol. iv, p. 105.

in the fourth century with the establishment of an independent Arab principality here.¹

TRADITIONISTS OF QUṢDAR

1. *Ja'far b. al-Khaṭṭāb al-Quṣḍārī* [d. circ. 450]

Ja'far surnamed Abū Muḥammad, a native of Quṣḍār, settled at Balkh. He was a jurist as well as an ascetic. He took lessons in Ḥadīth from 'Abd al-Samad b. Muḥammad al-'Aṣimī. He was a reliable *Rāwī* of Ḥadīth. Abū 'l-Futūḥ 'Abd al-Ghāfir al-Kāshghārī (d. 474), the *Hāfiẓ*,² transmitted Ḥadīth on his authority.³ He flourished early in the 5th century A.H.

2. *Sibawaih b. Ismā'il b. Dāwūd al-Quṣḍārī* [d. circ. 463]

Amongst his *shuyukh* were al-'Aṣ Abū 'l-Qāsim 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Husaynī, Yaḥyā b. Ibrāhīm al-Makḥūl and Rajā' b. 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Iṣbahānī. He migrated to Makka where he lectured on Ḥadīth. The *Hāfiẓ* Abū 'l-Fityān 'Amr b. Abū 'l-Hasan al-Rawwāsī (d. 503), a Traditionist of Dihistān,⁴ in the province of Jurjān,⁵ narrated Ḥadīth on the authority of Sibawaih. He died in about 463/1070.⁶

From the above discourse, it is evident how the study of Ḥadīth in Lower Sind was making long strides in the fourth century under a number of devoted Traditionists. We are now going to discuss below the causes of the sudden check the study of the Science, then, met with due to a cataclysm that overwhelmed the country.

1. See *supra*.

2. أبو الفتوح عبد الغافر بن الحسن الكاشغري كان حافظاً مكثراً
مدوناً Sam'ānī, fol. 472b.

3. Ibid., fol. 456a.

4. Ibid., fol. 261a.

5. I.e. Strange, p. 379.

6. Sam'ānī, foll. 451a, 452b.

Towards the second half of the fourth century, the principalities of Multān and al-Manṣūra¹ were usurped by the Ismā'ilites. This was not merely a political change; it had a far-reaching effect on the life and faith of the Sunnis of Sind. Bent on destroying not only the structure of the states of the Sunnis, but also their religion and culture, the Ismā'ilities left no stone unturned to attain their objective. The fact that the Ismā'ilities closed down the Grand Mosque of Multān,² shows to what length they could have gone to annihilate all that the Sunnis stood for. Thus collapsed the religious organization of Sunnis that grew up under the fostering care of their savants as also their rulers. In the sequel, the Ismā'ilite *coup d'état* gave a death-blow to the centuries-old Sunnite Arab regime and what it built up in Sind.

Naturally, therefore, the study of Hadith, the fountain-head of the religious laws of the Sunnis, received a great setback. Sind, under Ismā'ilites, did not prove a congenial home for the Sunnī scholars. It was quite likely that the Traditionists might either have been obliged to quit the country or, in case of their stay, they had to suspend their cultural activities so near and dear to them. Nor was it improbable on the part of the fanatics who closed down the Grand Mosque against the Sunnī Muslims to perpetrate their acts of vandalism on the educational institutions of al-Manṣūra and Debal which were contributing so greatly towards the diffusion and dissemination of Islamic culture and learning in the country. This perhaps explains the reason why the study of Hadith in Sind came to a standstill at the end of the fourth century. It is not unreasonable to believe that the Ismā'ilities, on the assumption of their power, suppressed the religious in-

1. Nadawī, pp. 313 seq.

2. Al-Bīrūnī, *Kitāb al-Hind*, ed. Sachau (London, 1887), p. 501 Elliot, vol. i, p. 470; Nadawī, op. cit., p. 315.

stitutions of the Sunnīs. This hypothesis gains in strength from the fact that henceforward no student from Sind was found going abroad to study the Ḥadīth literature. Nor did the cultivation of the Science on the part of the Traditionists of al-Manṣūra seem to have made any further advance. Moreover, the fact that the last batch of ardent Ṭalīb al-'Ilm who had been peregrinating throughout the Muslim lands to master the science of tradition died by the close of the fourth century, shows that they were the products of the Sunnī regime. Since then Sind did not and, as a matter of fact, could not send any of her young learners to study Ḥadīth abroad. Obviously, the Ismā'īlites were, thus, responsible for arresting the expansion of the religious and cultural activities of the Sunnīs. True, Sulṭān Maḥmūd (388-421/998-1030) of Ghaznīn, a champion of the Sunnīs, did succeed in setting up his rule after having overthrown their Government and driven them out of the territory.¹ But his career of conquest was cut short before he could restore Sind to her cultural glories of the past. Nor could he effect a wholesale extermination from the country of the Shi'ites whose secret propaganda was very active among the natives and who, thereby, succeeded in converting to their own faith, a powerful Indo-Arab tribe who became famous in history as the Sumras. Now, these Sumras, again, captured for themselves the Government of Lower Sind in 443/1051 from the weak successors of Sulṭān Maḥmūd.² Thus the Ismā'īlites regained their hold which they appear to have maintained till 752/1351 when Sammas ousted them and usurped the Government.³ Meanwhile, the province was, no doubt, conquered by Mu'izz al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ghurī (570-602/1174-1205) and was governed by his lieutenant

1. Nadawī, pp. 314, 349-50.

2. Elliot, vol. i, pp. 484 seq; Nadawī, p. 358.

3. Elliot, vol. i, pp. 494 seq; Nadawī, pp. 374 seq.

Naṣīr al-Dīn Qabācha,¹ nevertheless, Delhi Sultanate could not control it effectively and the real power was still retained by the Sumras. From their usurpation of the territory in the second half of the fourth century down to the middle of the eighth, the influence of the Ismā'ilites, in some form or other, was continuous and uninterrupted in Lower Sind. In the circumstances, with the termination of the Sunni Arab regime in Sind, the contact which the territory had maintained with the seats of Ḥadīth learning in other Islamic countries, particularly with those of al-Hijāz, was cut off. Thus the revival of the study of Ḥadīth in India was delayed until the rise, in the ninth century, of the Bahmanīs and the Muẓaffar Shāhīs in the Deccan and Gujarāt, respectively. In the meantime flickering light of Sunna was visible in Northern India with the advent of the scholars from Central Asia ever since the Muslim conquest began to take shape in that region.

1. *Cambridge History of India*, vol. iii, p. 500.

CHAPTER III

HADITH LITERATURE IN NORTHERN INDIA [388-900/998-1494]

Section I. Ghaznawids [388-582/998-1186]

THE later part of the fourth century A.H. saw the penetration of the Muslims into Northern India under Maḥmūd of Ghaznī¹ who brought the Punjāb under his sway. Within the next two hundred years the Muslim dominion was extended by the Slave Sultāns further afield in the region reaching the Bay of Bengal.² This phenomenal political conquest was attended with the expansion of Islām and the transmission of Islamic sciences all over Northern India by the labour and personal influence of the scholars, saints and missionaries who poured into the country from the neighbouring Muslim countries of the north-west, the gates of India being now wide open to them.

Shaykh Muḥammad Ismā'il al-Lāhūrī [d. 448/1056]

The Traditionist whose memory has been associated with the introduction of Hadīth into Lahore was Shaykh Ismā'il al-Lāhūrī, an eminent saint from Bukhārā. He came to India in 395/1004 and settled at Lahore—wherefrom he got the *nisba* of al-Lāhūrī—while the city was not yet conquered by the Muslims.³ Highly versed in Hadīth and Tafsīr, Ismā'il also distinguished himself as the first Muslim missionary to preach the faith of Islām in the city of Lahore. Crowds flocked to listen to his sermons and the number of his converts swelled

1. Firishṭa, vol. i, p. 27.

2. *Cambridge History of India*, ed. Haig (Cambridge, 1928), vol. iii, p. 26.

3. Lahore was conquered by Maḥmūd in 412/1021 (Firishṭa, vol. i, p. 31).

rapidly day by day, and it is said that no unbeliever came into personal contact with him without being converted to the faith of Islām.¹ He died at Lahore in 448/1056.²

Shaykh Ismā'il saw before him the plenitude of the Ghaznawid power under Sulṭān Maḥmūd and its subsequent decay due to the weak and incapable successors who followed him. But he did not care to meddle into politics. To propagate Islām and its sciences Ismā'il worked hard for a period well over half a century. We do not, however, know the part played by his disciples—whose number presumably have been a legion—to carry on the noble task he had begun except that they were imbued with love and devotion for Hadith. Henceforth, Lahore grew into a seat of Hadith learning that produced during the next hundred years several noted Traditionists. That already in the sixth century its reputation as a centre of culture reached beyond the bounds of India is borne out by al-Sam'ānī who in his *Kitāb al-Ansāb*³ records under the *nisba* al-Lāhūrī, the names of those *Muḥaddithān* who flourished in, and were associated with, Lahore.

Sayyid Murtaḍā al-Kūfī [d. 589/1193]

He was a native of al-Kūfa. His reputation as a scholar of Hadith and Tafsīr, it is said, attracted the notice of Sulṭān Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ghūrī (570-602/1175-1206) who made him one of his courtiers. But since the Sayyid had also in him the making of a soldier, he later entered the military service under him and was raised to the rank of a commander. On his conquest of Kanauj

1. Arnold, *op. cit.*, pp 280-81.

2. Ghulām Sarwar, *Khazīnat al-Aṣfiyā'*, ed. Newul Kishore Press, Lucknow, 1902, vol. ii, p. 230; Faqīr Muḥammad, *Iladā'iq al-Ilanaḥiyya*, ed. Newul Kishore Press, 1886, p. 194; Raḥman 'Alī, *Tadhkira 'Ulamā-i-Hind*, ed. Newul Kishore Press, 1914, 2nd edition, pp. 23, 179. Raḥmān Alī (*op. cit.*, p. 179) has it that Ismā'il came to Lahore in 395 A.H. during the reign of Mas'ūd (b. Maḥmūd) Ghaznawī (421-32) which is evidently a mistake for Maḥmūd Ghaznawī (388-421).

3. Fol. 497; Ma'ārif, vol. xxiv, No. 4, p. 248.

in 589/1193¹ while Shihāb al-Dīn was advancing towards Benares, Sayyid Murtaḍā met Rājā Uday Pāl of Zafarābād, now in the district of Jawnpore, U.P., in an encounter in which he fell fighting as a martyr.²

TRADITIONISTS OF LAHORE

1. *Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. 'Umar al-Lāhūrī* [d. 529/1134]

He was at once a Traditionist, poet and litterateur. He studied Ḥadīth under Abū 'l-Muẓaffar al-Sa'idī, the *Ḥāfiẓ*. His fame as a Traditionist reached as far as Baghdād. As a result, Abū 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Naṣīr al-Sulamī al-Baghdādī (467-550)³ who was himself a *Ḥāfiẓ* received from him Aḥādīth which he subsequently communicated to the distinguished Traditionist al-Sam'ānī so that the latter became a pupil of the pupil of Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Lāhūrī. He was a man of genial temperament and died at Lahore in 529/1134.⁴

2. *Abū 'l-Futūḥ 'Abd al-Ṣamad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Lāhūrī* [d. circ. 550/1158]

A disciple of Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Lāhūrī Abū 'l-Futūḥ was a lecturer of Ḥadīth at Samarqand where al-Sam'ānī heard from him the Aḥādīth transmitted to him (Abū 'l-Futūḥ) by his Shaykh Abū 'l-Ḥasan. He flourished towards the first half of the sixth century A.H.⁵

3. *Abū 'l-Qāsim Muḥammad b. Khalaf al-Lāhūrī* [d. circ. 540/1148]

Abū 'l-Qāsim migrated from Lahore to Isfarā'in and settled there. He read Fiqh and Ḥadīth with

1. According to *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nūsirī* (Elliot, vol. ii, p. 297), 590/1194.

2. *Tajallī-i-Nūr Tadhkira Mashāḥir-i-Jawnpūr*, ed. Jādū Press, Jawnpore, p. 29; Ma'ārif, vol. xxv. No. 5, p. 346.

3. For notice of his biography, *Shadharāt*, vol. iv, pp. 155-56.

4. Sam'ānī, fol. 497; Ma'ārif, vol. xxiv, No. 4, p. 248.

5. Ibid.

Abu 'l-Muzaffar al-Sam'ānī, the grandfather of al-Sam'ānī.¹ He also received Aḥādīth from some other Traditionists of his time. Besides being a Traditionist and jurist, Abū 'l-Qāsim acquired some reputation as a *munāẓir*, controversialist. Al-Sam'ānī met him at Isfarā'in and heard Ḥadīth from him. He died in about 540/1148.²

Section II. Early Delhi Sultānate [602-700/1205-1300]

Under the Ghaznawid Sultāns who were Shāfi'ites,³ Lahore developed into a seat of Ḥadīth learning and continued shedding its lustre until the end of the sixth century.⁴ But with the foundation of Delhi Sultānate in 602/1205, the study of *Fiqh* was introduced into India. Themselves Ḥanafites, the Sultāns of Delhi, naturally, attracted from al-'Irāq, Persia, Khurāsān and the Transoxania men versed in *Fiqh* and Ma'qūlāt.⁵ The advance of the Mongols under Chengiz Khān towards Central Asia, carrying with it death and destruction,⁶ expedited migration of the scholars to India. Soon places like Multān, Lahore, Bhakkar, Hānsī and Thaneswar were thronged with scholars so as to well make them rivals of Balkh and Bukhārā. Thence cultural activities gradually found their way to the eastern zone with Delhi as their rallying centre⁷ from where by the middle of the seventh century, they per-

1. Margoliouth, *Introduction to Kitāb al-Ansāb* (Gibb Memorial Series), p. 2.

2. Sam'ānī, loc. cit.

3. *Infra*, p. 208.

4. *Supra*, pp. 45-46; cf. Sūfī, *Al-Minhāj or the Evolution of Curriculum in the Muslim Educational Institutions of India* (Lahore, 1941), pp. 13-14.

5. Al-Nadwa (Lucknow), February 1909, art. Islāmī Nisāb-i-Dars by 'Abd al-Hayy Nadawī; February 1941, art. Shīrāz-i-Hind Purab by S. Sulaimān Nadawī, p. 10; S. Sulaimān Nadawī, *Hayāt-i-Shibli* (A'zamgarh, 1943), pp. 2-3; Abū 'l-Hasanāt Nadawī, *Hindūstān ki Qadīm Islāmī Darsgāhen* (A'zamgarh, 1936) pp. 85-86. Cf. Ma'ārif, vol. xxii, No. 4, pp. 253-54.

6. Minhāj al-Sirāj, *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, pp. 339-41.

7. *Hayāt-i-Shibli*, pp. 2 seq.

colated as far as Bengal.¹ Then there sprang up in Northern India schools and colleges through the munificent endowments of the Sultāns. Of them, the famous were the Fīrūz College at Uchh,² the Mu'izzī and the Naṣīriyya Colleges of Delhi³ and the Mu'izzī College of Badāyūn.⁴ Besides instructions were also imparted in different cities and townships of the country by the individual scholars who were subsidized by the state. With the growth and expansion of their political power in India, the Sultāns of Delhi promoted the cause of the Islamic sciences more and more.

In the seventh century the syllabus of studies comprised Arabic literature, grammar, rhetoric, Fiqh, Uṣūl al-Fiqh, Mantīq, Taṣawwūf, Tafsīr and Ḥadīth. Special stress was, however, laid on Fiqh and Uṣūl al-Fiqh *pari passu* with Arabic grammar and literature. Ḥadīth and Tafsīr, the two principal branches of Islamic sciences, received but scant attention, the course of the former being only nominal. Save and except al-Ṣaghānī's *Mashāriq al-Anwār* and al-Baghawī's *Maṣābiḥ al-Sunna*,⁵ no work on Ḥadīth, not even any of the Ṣiḥāḥ Sitta, was included in the curriculum. Circumstances being what they were at the time, nothing more than this could be expected. For, the courses of study followed in India had the same objective behind them as they had in the feeder-countries of Central Asia, namely, to prepare a student for the qāḍīship.⁶ Therefore, it is nothing unusual to find that among as many as forty-six scholars who flourished

1. *Infra*, p. 52.

2. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 124; 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Umar Ulughkhānī, *Zafar al-Wāliḥ bi Muẓaffar wa Aliḥ*, ed. Denison Ross under the title of *An Arabic History of Gujarāt* (London, 1921), vol. ii, p. 695.

3. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, pp. 188-89; Ulughkhānī, op. cit., p. 703; Abū 'l-Ḥasanāt, op. cit., pp. 17-18; Elliot, vol. ii, p. 344; Narendra Nath Law, *Promotion of Learning in India during Muḥammadan Rule* (London, 1916), p. 22.

4. Abū 'l-Ḥasanāt, p. 33.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 90-92; Ṣūfī, op. cit., pp. 16-17, 25.

✓ 6. *Ma'ārif*, vol. xxii, No. 4, pp. 253-54.

during the reign of 'Alā' al-Dīn Khaljī (695-715/1296-1316), only Shams al-Dīn Yaḥyā (d. 747) had some interest in Ḥadīth. But the historian Baranī to whom we owe the above information has not included Ḥadīth among the subjects taught at the time.¹ So, it is highly doubtful if the works on Ḥadīth were read at all or at any rate with any seriousness. Our assertion is borne out by the following incident. In 700/1300 Shams al-Dīn Turk, an eminent Egyptian Traditionist, came to India with a mass of compilations in Ḥadīth in order to popularize them in this country. But to his great dismay he came to know at Multān, on his way to Delhi, that Sulṭān 'Alā' al-Dīn had not been regular in his daily prayers, nor would he attend the Friday congregation. This mortified him so much so that he abandoned the project of working for the dissemination of Ḥadīth literature. But before returning to his home, he wrote a treatise on Ḥadīth and dedicated it to the Sulṭān of Delhi. He then left it with Mawlānā Faḍl Allāh, a grandson of Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyya al-Multānī (d. 666) along with a letter addressed to 'Alā' al-Dīn Khaljī. Shams al-Dīn stated in the letter that the 'Ulamā' of 'Alā' al-Dīn's regime had already dispensed with Ḥadīth confining themselves to Fiqh and that out of sheer disgust he was now leaving the country although he had gone there to spread Ḥadīth literature.² Thus, with his departure a great opportunity for the cultivation of Ḥadīth literature in India was lost.

Though in the seventh century the general tendency of the 'Ulamā' towards Ḥadīth remained what we have outlined above, there were, however, a few scholars who had some proficiency in, and interest for, the science. Further, of the *Ṣiḥāḥ Sitta*, a copy of the

1. Diyā' al-Dīn Baranī, *Tārīkh Firūz Shāhi* (Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1862), pp. 352-54.

2. Ibid, pp. 29, 7-9; Ulughkhānī, vol. ii, pp. 831-32, cf. p. 810 and also vol. iii, XCvii; Ma'arīf, vol. XXII, No. 4, p. 252.

Sunan of Abū Dāwūd,—perhaps the only copy then available in India,—was found in possession of Minhāj al-Sirāj al-Juzjānī, the author of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*.¹

TRADITIONISTS OF THE SEVENTH CENTURY

1. *Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyya al-Multānī* [d. 666/1267]

Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyya, the famous saint of Multān and a disciple of Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī (d. 632), was a descendant of Habbār b. Aswad, a Companion of the Prophet.² He was born at Qila' Kut Karur, near Multān, and received his education in Bukhārā and Khurāsān. He then went on a pilgrimage to the Haramayn and became a specialist in Hadīth, studying it for five years under the Madinian Traditionist, Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Yamanī. He died at Multān in Ṣafar, 666/October, 1267.³

2. *Qāḍī Minhāj al-Sirāj al-Juzjānī* [d. circ. 668/1270]

He belonged to a cultured family of Juzjān in Khurāsān which he left in 623/1228. He had from his father, who was a Qāḍī in the army of Hindūstān under Muḥammad al-Ghūrī (570-602/1175-1205), a good general education which fitted him to hold a number of high posts under Nāṣir al-Dīn Qubācha of Multān and under the Sulṭanate of Delhi which covered the regimes of Iltutmish (707-33/1210-36), Raḍiyya

1. *Infya*, p. 50.

2. *Tajrid*, vol. ii, p. 126.

3. Amīr Hasan, *Fawā'id al-Fu'ād* (Urdū tran. by Ghulām Aḥmad Khān, Ruhtak, 1313 A.H.), pp. 152-53; Firishta, vol. ii, pp. 404 seq. Habbār has been misprinted as Mahiyār; 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Dihlawī, *Akhhār al-Akhyār* (Meerut, 1277), pp. 26-28; Dāra Shikūh, *Safinat al-Awliya'*; (Delhi, 1269), p. 196; Ghulām Sarwar, *Hadīqat al-Awliya'*, ed. Lahore, s. v. Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyya, *Khasinat al-Aṣfiya*, vol. ii, pp. 19-26; Rahmān 'Alī, op. cit., p. 33; Nadawī, op. cit., pp. 339, 355; Ma'ārif, vol. xxii, No. 5, pp. 328-29.

(634-37/1236-40), Bahrām (637-39/1240-42) and Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd (614-64/1246-66). As a principal of Fīrūz College of Uchh and Naṣīrīyya College of Delhi, as a chief justice and a preacher, Juzjānī gave a brilliant account of himself. In 640/1242, he reached Lakhnawati, in Bengal, where he remained for two years. He died after 664/1266, but the exact date is not known.¹ His quotation in his *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*² of several Aḥādith from the *Sunan* of Abū Dāwūd suggests that Juzjānī must have studied this work at least.³ He does not, however, seem to have been very much acquainted with the Science of Tradition inasmuch as he took a few forged and weak Traditions as *Mutawātir*.⁴

3. *Burhān al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Abī 'l Khayr As'ad al-Balkhī* [d. 687/1288]

Burhān al-Dīn Maḥmūd, who flourished during the reign of Sulṭān Ghiyāth al-Dīn Balban (664-86/1266-86), was a disciple of al-Ṣaghānī (d. 650) from whom he obtained a *sanad* of the *Mashāriq al-Anwār*. He was the first Traditionist who initiated the study of the *Mashāriq al-Anwār* in Delhi. Burhān al-Dīn had the privilege of meeting in his early years, at Marghinān, Burhān al-Dīn al-Marghīnānī (d. 593), the famous author of *al-Hidāya*. He was much respected by Balban who used to visit him on Fridays for his blessings. He died in Delhi in 687/1288 and was buried on the eastern quarters of the Hawḍ-i-Shamsī.⁵

1. Urdu *Fawā'id al-Fu'ād*, p. 269; *Akhbār al-Akhyār*, p. 74. Juzjānī has been misprinted as Jurjānī. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, p. 172; Elliot, vol. ii, pp. 259 seq; Ulughkhānī, vol. iii, LX.

2. Pp. 325-26.

3. Ma'ārif, vol. xxiv, No. 4, p. 251.

4. Urdu *Fawā'id al-Fu'ād*, pp. 252-53.

5. Ibid., pp. 257-58; Mīr Khurd, *Siyar al-Awliya* (Delhi, 1885), p. 105; *Akhbār al-Akhyār*, p. 68; *Ḥadā'iq al-Hanafīyya*, p. 264; Raḥmān 'Alī, op. cit., p. 33; *Nuṣṣa*, vol. i, s.v. Burhān al-Dīn Maḥmūd.

4. *Kamāl al-Dīn Zāhid* [d. 684/1285]

Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Marḥkīlī, better known as Kamāl al-Dīn al-Zāhid, distinguished himself as a teacher in Hadīth of Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Awliya (d. 725). He read the *Mashāriq al-Anwār* with the two disciples of al-Ṣaghānī, viz., Burhān al-Dīn Maḥmūd (d. 687) and the author of the *Sharḥ Āthār al-Nayyirayn fī Akhbār al-Ṣaḥīḥayn*. His exceedingly pious habits induced Sulṭān Ghiyāth al-Dīn Balban to appoint him *Imām* or leader of prayers—an office which Kamāl al-Dīn refused to accept. He died in Delhi in 684/1285.¹

5. *Raḍī al-Dīn al-Baḍāyūnī* [d. circ. 700]

Among his contemporary scholars in Delhi Raḍī al-Dīn was said to have been well-versed in Hadīth literature. He was a Qāḍī of Ku'il (mod. 'Aligarh) and went to Makka, thence to Baghdād where, as a Traditionist, he was granted an audience by the reigning Caliph [?]. He returned to India and died at Lahore. The date of his death is not known.²

6. *Abū Taw'ama al-Bukhārī al-Ḥanbalī*
[d. circ. 700]

Sharaf al-Dīn Abū Taw'ama, who was a native of Bukhārā, migrated to Delhi early in the 7th century. During the Sulṭānate of Iltutmish (607-33/1210-36) he came over to Sunārgāon in Bengal where he settled down permanently. Abū Taw'ama was a teacher of great celebrity. As a Hanbalite scholar, he was evidently deeply learned in the science of Tradition. Under him, Sunārgāon early developed into a seat of Hadīth in Bengal, which claims among its *alumni*

1. *S. yar al-Awliya'*, pp. 104-06; *Akhbār al-Akhyār*, p. 45; *Khasinat al-Asfiya*, vol. i, p. 314; *Nuzha*, vol. i, s. v., Md. b. Aḥmad b. Md. al-Marḥkīlī; *Tadhkira-i-'Ulamā'-i-Hind*, p. 45; Ma'ārif, vol. xxii, No. 5, p. 329.

2. *Urdū Fawā'id al-Fu'ūd*, pp. 137-39. Raḍī al-Dīn has been confused with his namesake Raḍī al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Ṣaghānī (d. 650). Cf. *Infra*, p. 204, also *Nuzha*, vol. i, s. v. Raḍī al-Dīn al-Baḍāyūnī.

Makhdūm Sharaf al-Dīn Yaḥyā al-Manirī (d. 782), the celebrated saint-traditionist of Bihār. Abū Taw'ama died at Sunārgaon towards the close of the 7th century A.H.¹

Section III. Later Delhi Sultanate [700-900/1300-1494]

Next to *Fiqh*, the subject that attracted attention of the 'Ulamā' was *Ma'qūlāt* which in the time of Muḥammad b. Tughlaq (725-52/1325-51) was vigorously pursued in Delhi. Himself a scholar of no mean order, the Sultān patronized *Ma'qūlāt*. His circle of learned men consisted, among others, of the erudite philosopher, Mawlānā 'Alim al-Dīn, with whom he used to hold regular discussions on the subject.² The Sultān was so much fascinated by *Ma'qūlāt* that he would personally conduct lectures on *Ma'qūlāt*³ which along with *Fiqh* constituted the subjects of popular interest during the period under review. While the study of the Qur'ān and the Sunna was neglected to such an extent that Muḥammad b. Tughlaq's contemporary historian Diyā' al-Dīn Baranī⁴ attributes the former's cruelty and eccentricity to his study of *Ma'qūlāt*, meta-

1. *Nuzha*, vol. i., s v. Sharaf al-Dīn al-Dihlawī; Calcutta Review, vol. lxxi. (April-June 1939), pp. 196-97.

2. *Tārīkh Firūz Shāhi*, p. 465.

3. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Tuḥfat al-Nuṣṣār fi Ghayā'ib al-Amsār wa 'Ajā'ib al-Asfār*, ed. Defremery with French tr. (Paris, 1922), vol. iv, p. 843. The statement of Dr. Maḥdī Ḥusain (*vide his Rise and Fall of Muḥammad bin Tughlaq*, London, 1938, p. 200) that Muḥammad b. Tughlaq gave up his study of philosophy (*Ma'qūlāt*) before the arrival in Delhi of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa and that the latter 'had seen none of it' (philosophy) with the Sultān, is wide of the mark inasmuch as Ibn Baṭṭūṭa himself maintains:

فقد رأيت ملك الهند يتذاكر بين يديه بعد صلاة الصبح في العلوم
المعتولات خاصة - ج ٣ ص ٢٢٣

"Verily, I have seen the emperor of India holding after morning prayers discussions particularly of 'Ilm al-Ma'qūlāt or philosophical sciences" Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *op. cit.* (vol. iv, p. 343).

4. *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi*, p. 466: از اثر قساوت علم معتولات و از
فقدان اعتقاد علم منقولات بود -

physics, at the cost of *Manqūlāt*.¹ How far the evil influence of philosophy and logic was responsible for his whims and idiosyncrasies still remains a moot question.² But it cannot be gainsaid that sober-minded men of that age deeply felt the absence of humanizing effect of the teachings of the Qur'ān and the Sunna. The number of such men was, however, few and far between. The 'Ulamā', *en masse*, were affiliated to the Hanafite School. Their interest centred round Fiqh, the sure passport for government service. Having no wide outlook and independent judgment, they viewed the *Sharī'a* in terms of the Hanafite Fiqh. Any deviation from a recognized rite of this school, even if sanctioned by Traditions, was, therefore, opposed tooth and nail. This rigid attitude of the 'Ulamā' was strikingly illustrated in a familiar controversy on *Samā'* between Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Awliya on the one hand and the Fuqahā', on the other, during the Sultānate of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughlaq Shāh (720-25/1321-25).³ Apparently adhering to the school of the Shāfi'ites, Nizām al-Dīn Awliya cited Aḥādīth in favour of *Samā'*. But the Fuqahā' rejected the Traditions, in the first place, because the Shaykh, a *Muqallid-i-Abū Ḥanīfa* (follower of the Hanafite School) as he was, had nothing to do with Traditions, and, secondly, because the Aḥādīth themselves were pro-Shāfi'ite and, as such, they did not commend to their acceptance. Further they asserted that here in India *Fiqhī riwāyat* or the decision of the Hanafite jurists had greater legal value than Traditions themselves. Therefore, they insisted on his producing a definite opinion of Imām Abū Ḥanīfa on the matter. The hardihood of rejecting Apostolic Traditions on the part of the *Fuqahā'* shocked Nizām al-Dīn Awliya' so

1. *Manqūlāt* in contradistinction with Ma'qūlāt includes the sciences of the Qur'ān and Ḥadīth and also the subjects primarily based on them.

2. *The Cambridge History of India*, vol. iii, pp. 136-37.

3. *Siyar al-Awliya'*, p. 531; Ulughkhānī, vol. iii, pp. 855-57; *Firishta*, vol. ii, pp. 397-98; Ma'ārif, vol. xxii, No. 4, pp. 254-55; vol. xxii, No. 5, p. 33.

much that he was obliged to remark, "How long will the Muslims of a land survive where the judgment of an individual is considered superior to Aḥādīth." Therefore, from the remarks of Shams al-Dīn Turk and Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā', it is clear that the atmosphere obtaining in the circles of the 'Ulamā', who represented intelligentsia of the day, was not congenial for the cultivation of the science of Tradition in India. As the matter stood, the future of the science seemed to be very gloomy. Happily, there was a silver lining on the clouded horizon. Inspired by the love of the Prophet and his Sunna, several Ṣūfī scholars read the science themselves and also inculcated its study amongst their disciples. As a result, four schools of Ḥadīth learning came into being in Northern India under the leadership of the four Ṣūfī scholars, *viz.*, (i) Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' and his school of Muḥaddithūn in Delhi, (ii) Sharaf al-Dīn al-Manirī and his school of Muḥaddithūn in Bihār, (iii) 'Alī al-Hamadānī and his school of Muḥaddithūn in Kashmīr and (iv) Zakariyya al-Multānī and his school of Muḥaddithūn at Multān. The Ṣūfī scholars of these schools carried on the culture of Ḥadīth in Northern India until the end of the 9th century when the renaissance of the science was ushered in in the country.

I. NIZĀM AL-DĪN AWLIYĀ' AND HIS SCHOOL OF MUḤADDITHŪN

Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' [634-725/1236-1325]

Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Alī, popularly known as Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā', was born in 634/1236 at Badāyūn, United Provinces, where both of his grandfathers—paternal and maternal—Shaykh 'Alī and Khawāja 'Arab had migrated from Bukhārā during the Mongol invasion. Having mastered Arabic literature and Fiqh at an early age of twenty under 'Alā al-Dīn

al-Uṣūlī of Badāyūn and Shams al-Dīn al-Khawārizmī, afterwards the Shams al-Mulk, a minister of Sultān Ghiyāth al-Dīn Balban, of Delhi, Nizām al-Dīn wanted to have a qādīship under government. But at the instance of Shaykh Najīb al-Dīn al-Mutawakkil (d. 681), a brother of Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Mas'ūd Ganj-i-Shakar (d. 664),¹ who saw in the young scholar the promise of a great saint, he went to the Ganj-i-Shakar at Ajūdahan or Pākpattan in the Punjāb in 655/1257 for initiation.² Thus a new chapter of life was opened for Nizām al-Dīn so that in course of time he became the *Khalīfa*, representative, of the Ganj-i-Shakar and one of the greatest saints of India. He died in his *Khānqa*, convent, at Ghiyāthpūr, which is now called Bastī Nizām al-Dīn, within three miles from Delhi, on Friday, the 18th Rabī' II, 725/April, 1325, in the odour of sanctity.³

Nizām al-Dīn and Hadīth It is curious that Nizām al-Dīn became a student of Hadīth not during his educational career but while his fame as a saint of eminence had been established. The reason for this is not very far to seek. Having learnt the courses of studies obtaining in India in his days—courses of studies which were designed to suit the requirements of a qādī as has been stated above—Nizām al-Dīn had no occasion to read Hadīth. As a matter of fact, no occasion to cultivate the science of Tradition would have arisen at all, if he

1. For Farīd al-Dīn Ganj-i-Shakar, JASB, vol. iv, p. 635; Thornton, *India Gazetteer*, p. 757.

2. Urdu *Fawā'id al-Fu'ād*, p. 48; *Khazīna*, vol. i, p. 229.

3. Urdu *Fawā'id al-Fu'ād*, pp. 95-96; *Siyar al-Awliya'*, pp. 94 seq; *Firishta*, vol. ii, pp. 390 seq; Jāmī, *Nafahāt al-Uns*, pp. 452-53; *Akhbār al-Akhyār*, pp. 52 seq; Abu'l-Faḍl, *A'in-i-Akbari* (Niwul Kishore, 1893), vol. iii, p. 170; *Safinat al-Awliya'*, p. 92; 'Abd al-Rahmān Chishtī, *Mir'at al-Asrār* (Ms. Bankipore), foll. 372-94; 'Alī al-Qārī, *al-Aṭṭṭār al-Janiya* (Ms. Bankipore) s.v. Md. b. Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Dihlawī; *Khazīna*, vol. i, pp. 229 seq; *Hadā'iq al-Hanafiyya*, pp. 277 seq; *Tadhkira 'Ulamā*, p. 240; *Nursha*, pp. 122-23; Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, ed. Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1881, p. 211; *Encyclopaedia of Islām*, vol. iii, p. 932.

were a qādī, an office for which he aspired. Destiny, however, willed him otherwise. He became a *walī*, saint, and a famous one at that. Now, the deeper he traversed in the realm of spiritualism, the greater he felt for the need of Ḥadīth. With all the accomplishments of a scholar and saint,¹ he sat at the feet of Mawlānā Kamāl al-Dīn Zāhid and took lessons from him in the *Mashāriq al-Anwār*. He made a thorough and critical study of the work and, on its completion in 679/1280, he received from Kamāl al-Dīn a *sanad*²

1. Cf. below, note 2.

2. The *sanad* reads as follows. (Sīyar al-Awliyā', p. 104.05) :

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم، الحمد لمن له الاهتداء والاعطاء وال صباح والرواح، والمدح لمن له الالاء والنعماء وال صباح والمدايح، والصلوة القصاص على ذى الفضائل والسماء والكلمة الكلام المفتاح والمذاقب العلياء، والاحاديث الصالحات صلوة تدوم دوام الصباح والرواح، وبعد فان الله وفق الشيخ الامام العالم الناسك السالك نظام الدين محمد بن احمد بن علي مع وفور فضله في العلم وبلوغ قدرته ذروة التكلم مقبول المشائخ الكبار منطور العلماء الاخبار والابرار بان قرء هذا الاصل المستخرج من الصائحين على ساطر هذه السطور في الزمان الكار وورود الامطار من اوله الى اخره قراءة بعث واقتان وذنقيع معانيه وذنقيع مبانيه وكاتب السطور يرويه قراءة وسماعاً عن الشيخين الامامين العالمين احد الشيخين مؤلف شرح آثار الثيرين في اخبار الصائحين والآخر صاحب الدرين المنيرين الامام الاجل الكامل مالك رقاب النظم والنثر برهان الملة والدين مكمور بن ابي الحسن اسعد البليخي رحمة عليهما رحمة واسعة كناية و شفاة و هما يرويان عن مؤلفه واجزت له ان يروى عنى كما هو المشروط في هذا الباب، والله اعلم بالصواب، و اوصيه ان لا ينسيانى واولادى في دعواته في خلواته، وصاع له القراءة والسماع في المسجد المنسوب الى نجم الدين ابي بكر التواسى رحمه الله في بلدة دهلى صانها الله من الافات والعاهات، وهذا خط اضعف عباراته واحقر خلقه مكمور بن احمد بن احمد البارلكلى الملقب بكمال الزاهد والقراف من القراءة والسماع وكتب هذه السطور في الثانى والعشرين من ربيع الاول سنة تسع وسبعين و ستمائة، حامداً لله تعالى ومصلياً على رسوله،

which goes to show that the Shaykh had taken to the study of Ḥadīth after his initiation.

Hadith made a deep impression on Nizām al-Dīn's mind. This was not all. By way of *kaffāra*, expiation, for the sin which he thought he had committed in his school days as a result of his memorizing forty *Maqāmas* of Al-Ḥarīrī, he got by heart the Aḥādīth of the *Mashāriq al-Anwār*. Further the study of Ḥadīth so widened his outlook on life that he gave up the rigid conventionlism, *taglīd* of the 'Ulamā' and fell in line with the Muḥaddithūn, as his opinion about the legality of *samā'*, *qir'at khalf al-imām* and *ṣalāt al-janāza 'alā' al-ghā'ib* amply demonstrates.

Nizām al-Dīn does not seem to have been a Traditionist of great distinction as it appears from the perusal of his *Malfūẓāt*, the *Fawā'id al-Fu'ād* which contains, *inter alia*, many fabricated Traditions.¹ This might have been due to the fact that he had no access to any standard work on Ḥadīth literature save and except the *Mashāriq al-Anwār*. Be that as it may, it redounds to his credit that he could create for the people of his Khānqā interest for Ḥadīth with the result that there grew up among his disciples and their successors a number of scholars who had acquired proficiency in the subject.

TRADITIONISTS BELONGING TO THE SCHOOL OF NIZĀM AL-DĪN

1. *Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Yahyā al-Awadī* [d. 747/1346]

He was a pupil of Farīd al-Dīn al-Shāfi'ī and Zāhir al-Dīn al-Bhakkārī, the two renowned professors of their age. He also appears to have read the

1. Cf. *Fawā'id al-Fu'ād* ed. Newul Kishore Press, Lucknow, 1894, pp. 99-100, 103-04, 115, 132.

Mashāriq al-Anwār with his master Nizām-al-Dīn Awliya' and became, in turn, a teacher of the royal institution of Delhi in the time of 'Alā' al-Dīn Khaljī. In 724/1323, Nizām al-Dīn made him one of his *Khalīfas*. Then Muḥammad b. Tughlaq appointed him a preacher of Islām in Kashmīr but, before he could join his post, he died suddenly of boils in 747/1346 and was buried in Delhi.¹

Shams al-Dīn was the first Indian Traditionist who wrote a commentary on the *Mashāriq al-Anwār*² and was otherwise the second Muslim to comment on the work.³ Unfortunately, the commentry has not come down to us. The tribute paid to him by his distinguished pupil, the *Chirāgh-i-Dihlī*, shows what an eminent educationist Shams al-Dīn was.⁴

2. *Fakhr al-Dīn al-Zarrād al-Samānūwī al-Dihluwī* [d. 748/1347]

He read with Shams al-Dīn al-Awadī and other reputed teachers of Delhi. He was both a jurist as well as a traditionist. He possessed a deep and wide knowledge of Hadīth literature. While teaching *al-Hidāya* in Delhi he would adduce from the Ṣaḥīḥān Aḥādīth parallel to those of *al-Hidāya*, strengthening thereby the basis of *al-Hidāya* itself.⁵ Numerous Aḥādīth abound in his two Arabic treatises on *Samā'*, namely, the *Uṣūl al-Samā'*⁶ and the *Kashf*

1. *Akḥbār al-Akhyār*, pp. 90-91; *Mir'at al-Asrār*, fol. 247a; *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi*, p. 353; *Khazāna*, vol. i, p. 349; *Subḥat al-Marjān*, p. 29; *Ḥadā'iq al-Hanafīyya*, pp. 284-85; *Tadhkira-i-'Ulamā'*, pp. 86-87; *Nuzha*, p. 147.

2. *Akḥbār*, p. 90.

3. *Infra*, Part II, Chap. II, Sec. III.

4. قال العلم شمس الدين يحيى سالت العلم من احياء حقاً
Nuzha, loc. cit.

5. *Ma'ārif*, vol. xxii, No. 5, p. 331.

6. For extracts from *Uṣūl al-Samā'*, see *Nuzha*, pp. 105-06.

al-Qinā'an Wujūh al-Samā',¹ particularly the chapter VIII of the latter that has been devoted to the justification of *Samā'* from the standpoint of Apostolic Traditions.²

Fakhr al-Dīn participated in the famous *munāẓara* on *Samā'* with his preceptor, Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā'. At the instance of Muḥammad b. Tughlaq, he went to Deogir (Dowlatabād) from where he proceeded to Makka, thence to Baghdād and attended the lectures of eminent Traditionists there. In 748/1347 on his way home, he was drowned at sea.³

3. *Diya' al-Dīn b. Mu'ayyid al-Mulk b. Bārsag Barlās al-Baranī*

Ever since the commencement of his relationship with Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā', *Diya' al-Dīn Baranī*, the famous author of the *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi*, lived at Ghiyāthpūr⁴ and thus had an opportunity to be in close contact with him. He was a cultured and widely read man of his contemporary India.⁵ The idea of his knowledge of the science of Tradition may be had from the references of Aḥādīth made in his *Tārīkh*⁶ particularly the brief but comparative study between Ḥadīth and historiography (*Tārīkh*) he brings to bear upon its *Muqaddima*.⁷ He observes that the study of the Qur'ān and the Apostolic precepts makes a man well-balanced and humane.⁸ He died some time

1. A Ms. copy of this treatise is in the library of ASB under No. 457 (Persian Mss.) and another is with Mawlānā 'Abd al-Majid of Dariyābād, near Lucknow (Ma'ārif, vol. xxii, No. 6, p. 416).

2. Ma'ārif, loc. cit.

3. *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, pp. 273-75; Ulughkhāni, vol. iii, p. 856; *Akhbār*, pp. 85-86; *Khazina*, vol. i, p. 351; *Tadhkira-i-'Ulamā* pp. 160-61, *Nuzha*, pp. 103-06.

4. *Akhbār*, pp. 96-97.

5. *Nuzha*, p. 64.

6. *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhi*, pp. 102, 511.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 9-11.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 465.

after 758/1357 when he completed his *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*.¹

4. *Muḥiyy al-Dīn b. Jalāl al-Dīn b. Quṭb al-Dīn al-Kashānī* [d. 719/1319]

He was one of those disciples of Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' who took lively interest in Hadīth literature. He attended the Hadīth classes of Nizām al-Dīn himself in which the latter would explain difficult Traditions.² We have it from the *Khazīnat al-Asfiyā'* that Muḥiyy al-Dīn was a scholar of Hadīth, Tafsīr and Fiqh. He belonged to a hereditary Qādī family of Oudh. But as a result of his taking to the life of a darwish, he was reduced to the lowest stage of poverty. A friend of his brought this to the notice of Sultān 'Alā' al-Dīn Khaljī who offered him the qādīship of Oudh. But Muḥiyy al-Dīn did not accept. He died in Delhi in 719/1319.⁴

5. *Nizām al-Dīn 'Allāmī al-Husaynī al-Zafarābādī* [d. 735/1334]

Nizām al-Dīn 'Allāmī was a scholar of great renown. His erudition in Hadīth literature earned for him the title of *Zubdat al-Muḥaddithin*. He began his career as a disciple of Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' but, presumably on his death, completed the course of mystical training at Sayyidwāda in Zafarābād, near Jawnpūr, under Makhdūm Asad al-Dīn Afṭāb-i-Hind

1. *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 602. *Khazīna*, vol. i, p. 346, gives his death-date at 738 A.H. which is evidently a mistake. His biographical notices will also be found in *Khazīna*, vol. i, p. 346; *Tadhkira-i-'Ulamā'*, p. 97; and Beale's *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 288.

2. *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, p. 102.

3. Vol. i, p. 325.

4. *Siyar al-Awliyā'*, pp. 275 seq; *Aḥkbar*, pp. 91-92; *Ḥadā'iq*, p. 276; *Tadhkira-i-'Ulamā'*, pp. 221-22; *Nuzha*, pp. 163-64.

(661-793),¹ a saint, who made 'Allāmī his *Khalīfa*. He compiled two treatises on Sūfism, the one in Arabic called *Zād al-Ṣulahā* and the other in Persian called *Zād al-Salīkān*. He died at Zafarābād in 735/1334.²

6. *Shaykh Naṣir al-Dīn Chirāgh-i-Dihlī*
[d. 757/1356]

Naṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Yaḥyā b. 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Husaynī al-Yazdī al-Awadī who became famous under his surname *Chirāgh-i-Dihlī*, the Light of Delhi, succeeded Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' in the spiritual hierarchy of Ghiyāthpūr. He read Islamic sciences with Muḥiyy al-Dīn al-Kāshānī, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Awadī and others. He was fairly conversant with Hadīth literature, as his *Malḥūzāt*, discourses, *Khayr al-Majālis*, testifies.³ He died in Delhi on Friday, Ramaḍān 18, 757/September, 1356.⁴

7. *Sayyid Muḥammad Gīsū Darāz*
(721-825/1321-1422)

Abū 'l-Faṭḥ Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. 'Alī al-Husaynī al-Dihlawī commonly called *Gīsū Darāz*, 'the Long Locked,' was a saint of great renown. He was a disciple of Chirāgh-i-Dihlī and succeeded him in the Khānqā of Ghiyāthpūr. Born in Delhi on Rajab 4, 721/July, 1321, he read with Sharf al-Dīn al-Kathhīlī, Tāj al-Dīn Muqaddam and Qādī 'Abd al-Muqtadir (d. 791). In 801/1399, he quitted Delhi on account of Timūr's invasion and after spending several years in Gujarāt and Dawlatābād he reached Gulbargā in 815/1412 and was received with every mark of

1. For his biography, see Faṣīḥ al-Dīn, *Sharqī Monuments of Jawnpūr* (Jawnpur, 1922), p. 97.

2. *Tajallī-i-Nūr*, p. 22; Ma'ārif, vol. xxv, No. 5, p. 346; *Nuzha*, p. 175.

3. *Ma'ārif*, vol. xxii, No. 5, p. 331. The *Khayr al-Majālis* was compiled in the course of 755-56 A.H. by Poet Ḥamīd, a disciple of Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' (*Akhbār al-Akhyār*, p. 80).

4. *Syar al-Awliyā'*, pp. 236 seq.; *Akhbār*, p. 74; *Khasāna*, vol. i, p. 354; *Tadhkira-i-'Ulamā'*, p. 86.

respect by Sultān Fīrūz Shāh Bahmanī (800-25/1397-1422). Prince Aḥmad Shāh became his disciple and built for him a fine house with a convent attached to it. He died there on Monday, Dhū 'l-Qa'da 26, 825/ October, 1422.¹

Sayyid Muḥammad Gīsū Darāz is said to have written over one hundred books on different branches of Islamic learning.² His works on Ḥadīth are as follows :

- (i) *Sharḥ Mashāriq al-Anwār*. The peculiar feature of this commentary is the interpretation of Aḥādīth from the point of view of Sūfism.³
- (ii) *Tarjumā-i-Mashāriq al-Anwār*, a Persian translation of the *Mashāriq al-Anwār*.⁴
- (iii) *Kitāb al-Arba'in*, a treatise of select forty Traditions. The author added to every Ḥadīth parallel sayings of the Ṣaḥāba, Ṭābi'ūn and Mashā'ikh.⁵
- (iv) A treatise on Sirat al-Nabī.⁶

8. *Shaykh Wajīh al-Dīn*

Another eminent disciple of Chirāgh-i-Dihlī, who was well-versed in Ḥadīth literature, was Wajīh al-Dīn. He flourished in the 8th century. His title to fame rests on his being the author of *Miftāḥ al-Jinān*⁷ (the Key to Paradise), a Persian dissertation containing directions regarding prayers (*awrād*), religious observances and moral conduct. The book, as the author states in the *Muqaddima*, is based on the Qur'ān and the most Ṣaḥīḥ, 'approved,' treatise on Tradition⁸ and that is presumably the *Mashāriq al-Anwār*. A Ms.

1. Firishta, vol. i, p. 316; *Akḥbār*, pp. 123 seq; *Khazina*, pp. 381-82; *Tadhkira-i-'Ulamā'*, p. 82; *Nūzha*, vol. iii, (Ms), s.v. Md. b. Yūsuf b. 'Alī al-Husaynī al-Dihlawī; Beale, op. cit., p. 187; Rieu, Persian Mss. vol i, p. 347b.

2. *Nūzha*, loc. cit.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

7. Ḥājī Khalīfa, op. cit., vol. vi, p. 11.

8. Rieu, Persian Mss., vol. i, pp. 40-41.

copy of this work transcribed in 1084/1673 is in the British Museum.¹

9. *Qaḍī Shihāb al-Dīn Dawlatābādī*

[d. 849/1445]

Malik al-'Ulamā' Shihāb al-Dīn b. Shams al-Dīn b. 'Umar al-Zāwūlī al-Ghaznawī al-Dawlatābādī, a celebrated scholar of the early 9th century A.H., was born at Dawlatābād in the Deccan. He was educated in Delhi under distinguished professors like Mu'in al-Dīn 'Imrā'nī (d.circ. 807), Mawlānā Khawājī (d. 819) and Qaḍī 'Abd al-Muqtadir al-Shuraiḥī (d. 791) of whom the last mentioned scholar, who was a disciple of Chirāgh-i-Dihlī,² was his spiritual guide. During Timūr's invasion, he migrated along with Mawlānā Khawājī to Kalpī³ whence he came over to Jawnpūr and settled there permanently. Shihāb al-Dīn enjoyed patronage of Sultān Ibrāhīm al-Sharqī (804-44/1401-40) who conferred on him the title of *Malik al-'Ulamā'*, 'the Prince of the Scholars.' He died on Rajab 25, 849/October, 1445, and was buried beside the Atala mosque of Ibrāhīm Sharqī at Jawnpūr.⁴

Shihāb al-Dīn left us, among other works,⁵ a treatise on the excellence of the Sayyids, entitled *Manāqib al-Sādāt* or *Sharaf al-Sādāt*, wherein he quoted copiously verses from the Qur'an and Aḥādith from the *Mashāriq al-Anwār*, *Maṣābiḥ al-Sunna*,

1. No. 691, fol. 344.

2. *Nuzha*, p. 71.

3. Hunter, *Imperial Gazetteer*, (Oxford 1908), vol. xiv, p. 317.

4. Firishṭa, vol. ii, p. 306; *Akhbār*, pp. 186, 169-70; *Subḥat al-Marjān*, p. 29; *Ma'athar al-Kirām*, pp. 188-89; Nāwwāb Ṣiddīq Ḥasan, *Abjad al-'Ulūm* (Bhupāl 1296), p. 893; *Tiqṣār al-Juyūd* (Bhupāl, 1298 A.H.), p. 164; *Khazīna*, vol. i, pp. 390-92; Thanā' Ullāh, *Tadhkira 'Ulamā' -i-Jawnpūr* (Calcutta, 1934) pp. 19-23; *Tajallī-i-Nūr*, vol. ii, p. 33; *Hadā'iq*, p. 319; *Tadhkira-i-'Ulamā'*, pp. 88-89; *Hayāt-i-Shibli*, pp. 11-13; Storey, *Persian Literature* (London, 1927), Section i, pp. 9-10; *Ency. of Islām*, vol. i, p. 932.

5. Brockelmann, *Geschichte* (Leiden, 1938) Sup. I, pp. 309-10.

Mishkāṭ al-Maṣābiḥ and *Sharḥ Ma'ānī al-Āthār* by al-Ṭaḥāwī.¹

10. *Mawlānā Khawājī al-Karawī* [d. 878/1473]

Shams al-Dīn Khawājī b. Aḥmad b. Shams al-Dīn al-'Urayḍī al-Multānī al-Karawī traced his descent from Ismā'īl b. Ja'far al-Ṣādiq (d. 148). He was a Ṣūfī scholar and compiled an *Arba'in* with Traditions selected from the *Mashāriq al-Anwār* and committed it to memory. He died at his native place at Kara, near Allāhābād, on Muḥarram 18, 878/May, 1473.² His tomb³ which was on the bank of the Ganges has been washed away as late as 1940. Though we have no evidence connecting him with the Traditionists of the School of Nizām al-Dīn, nevertheless we presume him to be one of them inasmuch as he flourished in Oudh which was under the sphere of influence of the disciples of Nizām al-Dīn, such as Shams al-Dīn al-Awadī, Naṣīr al-Dīn Chirāgh-i-Dihli and others.⁴

II. SHARAF AL-DĪN AL-MANIRĪ AND HIS
SCHOOL OF MUḤADDITHŪN

Makhdūm al-Mulḥ Sharaf al-Dīn al-Manirī al-Bihārī
[661-782/1263-1381]

Sharaf al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Manirī, the celebrated saint of Bihār, was born on Friday, Shawwāl, 661/August, 1263, at Manir,⁵ a village 60 miles off from

1. *Infra*, Retrospect, VI.

2. *Nuzha*, vol. iii, s.v. Shams al-Dīn Khawājī.

3. His tomb enshrined the following inscription composed by Khawājī himself:

برائے خدا ای عزیزان نوسید بر گور من ایس سائین
کہ چوں خواجگی در تہی خاک شد نیکو شد ز حکم جہان پاک شد

4. *Supra*, cf. *Nuzha*, pp. 170, No. 268, 171, No. 272.

5. Manir has been variously read as Munair, Maner and Munayr [Calcutta Review, vol. lxxi (April-June 1939), p. 195]. For correct reading, 'Abd al-Ḥayy, *Nuzha* (Hyderābād, 1350), p. 9.

the present Bihār Sharif in Patna. He was educated at Sunārgāon under the fostering care of his teacher (afterwards, father-in-law) Abū Taw'ama al-Hanbalī. On the conclusion of his studies in 691/1291, he proceeded to Delhi, had an interview with Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā'¹ and then went to Lahore and became a disciple of Shaykh Najib al-Dīn al-Firdawsī (d. 733).² He subsequently spent the next thirty years of his life in the forests of Bihya and Rājgīr in the meditation of and in holding communion with God. Sometime between 720-24/1320-24, he gave up the life of seclusion and started the career of a spiritual guide. His Khānqā at Manir, which had originally been built up by his friends and admirers, was, later, extended and rebuilt by Sulṭān Muḥammad b. Tughlaq who, also, assigned the Pargana of Rājgīr to meet its expenses. The monument stands to this day. The Makhdūm died at Manir on Shawwāl 6, 782/January, 1381.³

Sharaf al-Dīn was an outstanding Traditionist of Sharaf al-Dīn, as a this part of India. He was thoroughly Traditionist ly acquainted with all the branches of Hadīth literature, viz., 'Ilm Tā'wīl al-Ḥadīth, 'Ilm Rijāl al-Ḥadīth and 'Ilm Muṣṭalahāt al-Ḥadīth.' His

1. *Mir'at al-Asrār*, fol. 462a

سعادت خدمت سلطان المشائخ نظام الدين اولياء دريافت
سلطان المشائخ برك تنبول دار و رخصت فرمود

also *Nuzha*, p. 9; Ma'ārif, vol. xxiii, No. 4, p. 297.

2. He was a disciple of Rukn al-Dīn al-Firdawsī (d. 724), the pioneer of the Firdawsī order in India (*Khazina*, vol. ii, p. 286).

3. *Akhbār*, p. 109; *Mir'at Asrār*, foll. 461a, 461b; *Khazina*, vol. ii, pp. 290 seq; *Tadhkira-i-'Ulamā'*, p. 84; *Nuzha*, pp. 8-10; Beale, pp. 249, 254; Bankipur Catalogue, xvi, 25; *Ā'in-i-Akhbar*; vol. II, p. 219. S. K. Rahmān, Calcutta Review, vol. lxxi (April-June 1939), pp. 195-214, art. Shaykh Sharaf al-Dīn Aḥmad Yaḥyā of Munayr; Ma'ārif, vol. xxiii, No. 4, p. 297.

4. I.e., the sciences of interpretation, transmission and technique of Traditions. For details on these aspects of Hadīth literature, vide *Abjad al-'Ulūm*, pp. 289, 354; *Miftāḥ al-Sunna*, pp. 145, 160.

Maktubāt and books on Ṣūfism¹ are interspersed with Aḥādīth both verbatim and reproduced. This is not all. At times he would devote pages of his works for the discussion of the different aspects of the science, e.g., *Riwāyat bi'l-Ma'nā* (narration of the Traditions and not the wordings thereof), *Shurūt al-Riwi* (conditions for an approved transmitter) and so on and so forth. In his works references have been made of the Ṣaḥīḥān, the *Musnad* of Abū Ya'lā al-Māwṣili, *Sharḥ al-Maṣābīḥ* and *Alashāriq al-Anwār*. Further, a copy of *Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* by al-Nawawī (d. 672) is believed to have been in his possession for the purpose of his study.² He is credited to have, for the first time, introduced the teaching of the Ṣaḥīḥān in Bihār, nay in India.³ He was not merely well-conversant with Hadīth. As a matter of fact, he practised it to such an extent that he did never in his life taste melon simply because there was nothing to show that the Prophet of Islām had tasted it.⁴ Last but not the least, he was an authority of the mystical teachings of both the Qur'ān and the *Sunna*.⁵

As both Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā' of Delhi and Sharaf al-Dīn al-Manirī of Bihār were Ṣūfis and contributed materially to the cause of Hadīth literature in this country, an estimate of their achievement in this regard may not be out of place here.

Sharaf al-Dīn played the role of a leading spiritual guide in Bihār as did Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā' in Delhi. Both were scholars of Islāmic learning. As to their

A comparative estimate of Sharaf al-Dīn and Niẓām al-

1. For his works, see Cal. Review, pp. 210-11.

2. Cal. Review, pp. 197, 211; Ma'arif, vol. xxii, No. 5, pp. 331-32; Shāh Najm al-Dīn, Ma'arif, vol. xxiii, No. 4, pp. 295-98 art :

حضرت مخدوم الملک شینخ شرف الدین بہاری اور علم حدیث

3. See *Infra*, p. 77.

4. Cf. his *Khawān-i-Pūr-i-Ni'mat* (Aḥmadī Press, Patna, 1321 A.H.), 3rd Majlis, p. 8.

5. *Nurka*, p. 10.

Dīn Awliyā', as attainments in the field of Ḥadīth Traditionists. literature, the former seems to have carried away the palms. This was because of the fact that Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' began the study of Ḥadīth late in life, and had no access to any standard work on the subject, besides al-Ṣaghānī's *Mashāriq al-Anwār*¹ whereas Sharaf al-Dīn had the advantage of being educated under the Ḥanbalite Abū Taw'ama who must, of necessity, have laid stress on Ḥadīth. Naturally enough, he became more conversant with Ḥadīth literature. Further, unlike Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā', Sharaf al-Dīn had access to quite a large number of works on Ḥadīth² which he presumably collected from his teacher³ as also from his friends. The fact that Shaykh Zain al-Dīn of Dewa⁴ presented to him a copy of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim,⁵ supports our contention.

Now a word about the Traditionists of his school.

1. *Shaykh Muẓaffar al-Balkhī* [d. 786/1384]

Muẓaffar b. Shams al-Dīn al-Balkhī was the *Khalīfa*, representative, of Sharaf al-Dīn al-Manirī. Born and educated at Delhi, Muẓaffar was appointed by Fīrūz Shāh Tughlaq (752-90/1351-80) a Professor of Kushk La'l College in Delhi. As his father Shams al-Dīn was a disciple of Aḥmad alias Chirm Pūsh (skin-dressed), a saint of Bihār, he naturally desired that his son Muẓaffar, too, were initiated by the Chirm Pūsh. Because the Chirm Pūsh was an unlettered saint, Muẓaffar preferred Sharaf al-Dīn al-Manirī to him. But owing to his official preoccupation in Delhi, he could not join the *Khānqā* of Sharaf al-Dīn until 25 years after his initiation during which period, however, Muẓaffar recieved instructions by

1. *Supra*, p. 59.

2. *Ma'ārif*, vol. xxiii, No. 4, loc. cit.

3. *Infra*, pp. 76-77.

4. He was a scholar of the 8th century (*Nuzha*, p. 46).

5. *Ibid.*, *Ma'ārif*, vol. xxiii, No. 4, p. 296.

correspondence. He then came over to Manir along with the members of his family. In recognition of his profound scholarship in Islamic sciences, Muẓaffar got the sobriquet of Imām from his teacher Sharaf al-Dīn.

He prepared a commentary on the *Mashāriq al-Muẓaffar*, as a Traditionist *Anwār*, which, however, does not seem to have long survived his death. His role as a Traditionist can be had from the fact that he issued a *sanad* to his nephew and disciple Husain Nawsha-i-Tawḥīd as follows :

فرزند حسین سند حدیث برین فقیر کرده صاحب مسلم و صحیح بخاری من اولد و اخره لفظاً برین فقیر تحقیق کرده

[I do hereby certify that Husain has got *sanad* in Hadīth from me having read the *Ṣaḥīḥs* of Muslim and al-Bukhārī from the beginning to the end and scrutinizing (every) word with me.]¹

After the demise of his dearly beloved preceptor, Sharaf al-Dīn al-Manirī, Muẓaffar migrated to Makka and eventually died at Aden in Jumādā I, 788/June, 1384.²

2. *Husain b. Mu'izz al-Bihārī* [d. 844/1441]

Husain alias Nawsha-i-Tawḥīd was a nephew and *Khalifa* of Muẓaffar al-Balkhī. He was a mystic of the Firdawsī order as well as a Traditionist. Brought up by Makhdūm Sharaf al-Dīn, Nawsha read the *Ṣaḥīḥān* with his uncle Muẓaffar thoroughly well.³ His father Shaykh al-Islām Mu'izz al-Bihārī, who was

1. Ma'arif, vol. xxiii, No. 4, p. 298.

2. *Akbbār*, p. 110; *Mir'āt-i-Asrār*, fol. 520a; *Khazina*, vol. ii, p. 299; Ma'arif, vol. xxiii, No. 4, p. 298; *Nuzha* (Ms.), vol. iii, s.v. Husain b. Mu'izz al-Bihārī; Waḥshī Nigrāmī, *Wafayāt al-Akhyār* (Lucknow, 1320 A.H.), p. 99.

3. *Supra*.

himself a Traditionist of some distinction, made a present to him of a copy of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim, transcribed on a silk brocade in beautiful Arabic calligraphy, as a token of the latter's great interest for Hadith literature.¹ He accompanied his uncle to al-Hijāz and further studied the science of Tradition at Āden under al-Khaṭīb al-'Adanī.

Nawsha-i-Tawḥīd added to the *Khānqā* of Manir a number of Hadith works which were brought from al-Hijāz. He wrote several books on mysticism, the famous being *Ḥaḍarāt-i-Khams*, and a *Diwān* in Persian. His treatise called *Risāla Awrād-i-Dah Faṣlī* is full of Aḥādīth not only from the *Ṣiḥāḥ Sitta* but also from *Sunan* of al-Baihaqī and the *Mustadrak* of al-Ḥākim al-Nisābūrī. He died at Manir in Dhū 'l-Hijja, 844/May, 1441.²

3. *Aḥmad Langar-i-Dariyā b. Ḥasan b. Muẓaffar al-Bihārī* [d. 891/1486]

He succeeded his father in the *Khānqā* of Manir. He committed to memory the entire *Maṣābiḥ al-Sunnat* within six months in order to get applause and approbation from his grandfather Muẓaffar al-Balkhī. In his *Munis al-Qulub*, a collection of his *Malfūẓāt*, discourses, Aḥmad freely quotes from the *Ṣaḥīḥān*, the *Mashāriq al-Anwār* and other Hadith compilations. He died in 891/1486³ and with him perhaps terminated the line of the reputed scholars of the house of Muẓaffar al-Balkhī who succeeded in the *Khānqā* of Manir.

1. Muḥammad Shu'aib, *Manāqib al-Aṣfiyā'*, p. 150, quoted in Ma'ārif, vol. xxiv, No. 4, p. 251.

2. *Akḥbār*, pp. 114 seq.; *Nuzha* (Ms.), vol. iii, s.v. Ḥusain b. Mu'izz al-Bihārī; Ma'ārif, vol. xxiii, No. 4, pp. 298-99; vol. xxiv, No. 4, p. 251, note 2.

3. Ma'ārif, vol. xxiii, No. 4, p. 299.

III. 'ALĪ AL-HAMADĀNĪ AND HIS SCHOOL IN KASHMĪR

Hadīth was first brought to Kashmīr by Sayyid Amīr-i-Kabīr 'Alī b. Shihāb al-Hamadānī, an itinerant darwish of Khurāsān, who entered the territory in 773/1371 with a retinue of seven hundred followers. He was a great success as a missionary in Kashmīr where he and his disciples were mainly responsible for the expansion of Islam.¹ So great was his influence over there that Sulṭān Quṭb al-Dīn, the ruler of Kashmīr (770-95/1368-92), took pride in accepting his discipleship. Al-Hamadānī spent in that country the last years of his life and died on Dhū 'l-Ḥijja 6, 786/January, 1385, while on his way to Persia. He was buried at Khutlān in the Transoxania.²

Al-Hamadānī has to his credit the following dissertations on Ḥadīth :

(1) *Al-Sab'īn fī Faḍā'il Amīr al-Mu'minīn*, a collection of seventy Traditions dealing with excellences of *Ahl bait*, the descendants of the Prophet. The bulk of these Aḥādīth have been gathered from the *Musnad* of Firdaus al-Daylamī, a book not considered reliable by the Traditionists.

(2) *Arba'īn Amīriyya*, a collection of forty Traditions which al-Hamadānī transmitted from Anas b. Mālik on the authority of his Shaykh Najm al-Dīn al-Adhkānī (d. 778).³

1. Arnold, *Preaching of Islām*, p. 292.

2. Jāmi, *Nafahāt*, pp. 399-400; Khawāja A'zam Shāh, *Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr* (Lahore, 1303, A.H.), pp. 36-37; *Mir'at-i-Asrār*, foll. 323 seq; *Khasīna*, vol. ii, pp. 293 seq; *Ḥadā'iq*, pp. 297-98; *Tadhkira-i-'Ulamā'*, p. 148; *Nuzha*, pp. 87 seq; Firishta, vol. ii, pp. 339; Beale, p. 238; Newell, *History of Cashmere*, JASB, vol. xxiii, p. 414; vol. xxxiii, p. 278. For other references, vide Rieu, *Persian Mss.*, vol. ii, p. 4476.

3. Brockelmann, *Geschichte*, vol. ii, p. 211; *Nuzha*, pp. 89-90.

Besides, his *Dhakhirat al-Mulūk*, a treatise on political philosophy, abounds with Traditions, furnishing proof of his mastery of Ḥadīth literature.¹

Among the followers of 'Alī al-Ḥamadānī, Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn was a Muḥaddith whom Sulṭān Qutb al-Dīn appointed as a teacher in Kashmīr.²

Khānqā-i-Mu'allā in Kashmīr & Ḥadīth.—This *Khānqā* was built by Sulṭān Sikandar, the successor of Sulṭān Qutb al-Dīn, in 799/1396 for Mīr 'Alī al-Ḥamadānī's son Mīr Muḥammad al-Ḥamadānī (d. 809), who, on his father's death, had come to Kashmīr with three hundred disciples. It was a seat of learning until it developed into a seminary of Ḥājī Kashmīrī, a Traditionist of the 10th century.³

Qāḍī Husayn al-Shīrāzī.—A native of Shīrāz, Husayn came to Kashmīr with his preceptor Mīr Muḥammad al-Ḥamadānī. Sulṭān Sikandar appointed him judge in his dominion.⁴ Husayn collected *Aḥādīth Ratanīyya*,⁵ the forged Traditions emanating from Bābā Ratan al-Hindī, a master fabricator (*waḍḍā'*), of the early 7th century A.H., who had the audacity to give out that he had enjoyed *ṣuḥbat*, companionship of the Prophet.⁶

IV. SHAYKH ZAKARĪYYA AL-MULTĀNĪ AND HIS SCHOOL OF MUḤADDITHŪN AT MULTĀN

Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Zakarīyya (d. 666) was a pioneer of Ḥadīth learning at Multān. After him his mantle fell on the shoulders of his sons and grandsons. The Traditionist Jamāl al-Dīn al-Uchī and Makhdūm-i-Jahānīyān Sayyid Jalāl al-Dīn al-Bukhārī were the products of this centre.

1. Cf. Bankipur copy No. 943, vol. ix, 194.

2. *Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr*, p. 39; *Khazīna*, vol. ii, p. 297.

3. See below, ch. v, sec. I, No. 13.

4. *Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr*, p. 39.

5. Brockelmann, Supplement ii, pp. 625-26.

6. *Iṣāba*, vol. i, pp. 1087-1101.

Jamāl al-Dīn al-Muḥaddith.—He was a disciple of Shaykh Ṣadr al-Dīn (d. 684), a son and successor of Bahā' al-Dīn. For many years he was a Professor at his native town, Uchh, where he taught the *Mashāriq al-Anwār* and the *Maṣābiḥ al-Sunna*. So devoted was he to the Sunna of the Prophet that he used to put on coarse garments as the Prophet did. Jamāl al-Dīn flourished in the first half of the 8th century A.H.¹

Makhdūm-i-Jahānīyān Sayyid Jalāl al-Dīn al-Bukhārī (707-85/1307-83).—Jalāl al-Dīn al-Husayn b. Aḥmad al-Husayni al-Bukhārī al-Uchī was born at Uchh in 707/1307. After his education at his native town under Qādī Bahā' al-Dīn al-Uchī and Jamāl al-Dīn al-Muḥaddith,² he joined the school of Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyya at Multān, which was then being conducted by Shaykh Abū 'l-Faṭḥ Rukn al-Dīn b. Ṣadr al-Dīn (d. 735), a grandson of Bahā' al-Dīn. Here, on finishing within one year the existing courses of study comprising the *Mashāriq al-Anwār* and the *Maṣābiḥ al-Sunna*, Jalāl al-Dīn became a disciple of Rukn al-Dīn. He further received instructions in Ṣūfism at Delhi from Shams al-Dīn al-Awādī and Naṣir al-Dīn Chirāgh-i-Dihlī, in al-Madīna from 'Afīf al-Dīn 'Abd Allāh al-Maṭarī and also from some other *Mashā'ikh* of al-'Irāq and Egypt. Then he was made *Shaykh al-Islām* of Sind by Muḥammad b. Tughlaq whose successor Firūz Shāh himself accepted discipleship under him. Besides being a saint and scholar of great eminence, Jalāl al-Dīn was also a Muḥaddith. His deep insight into Aḥādīth impressed him, as did Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā', to practise *qir'at khalf al-Imām* and *Ṣalāt al-Janāza 'alā 'l-Ghā'ib*.³ He used to impart lessons on Ḥadīth literature, so that we find him lectur-

1. *Khazīna*, pp. 11, 37; *Nuzha*, pp. 24-25.

2. *Nuzha*, p. 25.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 29; *Khazīna*, vol. ii, s. v. Jalāl al-Dīn al-Bukhārī.

ing on the *Mashāriq al-Anwār* and the *Maṣābiḥ al-Sunnā* during his sojourn at Delhi in 775/1375 and 781/1379.¹ He died at Uchh in 785/1383.²

Retrospect

Until the middle of the 9th century A.H., the only Hadith compilations available at the great University city of Jawnpūr³ were the *Mashāriq*, the *Maṣābiḥ*, the *Mishkāṭ al-Maṣābiḥ* and the *Sharḥ Maʿānī l-Āthār* by al-Ṭaḥawī. This we gather from the perusal of the *Sharaf al-Sādāt*,⁴ a treatise written at Jawnpūr sometime between 807-49/1406-45, which contains Aḥādith not only from the aforesaid works on Hadith but also from *al-Hidāya*, *Tafsīr al-Kashshāf*, and *Tafsīr al-Baidāwī*, *Fatwā-i-Qāḍikhān*, *Fatwā-i-Tātārkhāniya*, *al-Durr al-Manthūr*, *Sharḥ Farāʾid Sirājiyya* by al-Taftāzānī, *al-Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ*, *Tārīkh al-Nasab* by Abū l-Qāsim, *Akhbār al-Thimār*, *Farāʾid al-Ḥalāliyya*, etc. The quoting of Aḥādith from non-Ḥadith works as mentioned above points to the dearth of any comprehensive collection of Traditions like the *Jawāmiʿ*⁵ *Masānīd*⁶ or *Sunan* works⁷ during the period under review, at Jawnpūr. Now, as a result of Timūr's invasion (801-02/1398-09) cultural centres of Delhi were mostly diverted to Jawnpūr,⁸ so that the latter became a replica of the former and as such the state of affairs of Hadith literature at Delhi was not likely to be any different from what now obtained at Jawnpūr. As a matter of fact, during the period under review Delhi, as a centre of Hadith learning, does not seem to have possessed any more Hadith works than the *Mashāriq*,

1. *Nuzha*, vol. iii, s.v. 'Alā al-Dīn b. 'Alī b. As'ad al-Dihlawī.

2. *Akhbār*, pp. 133-35; *Nuzha*, pp. 28-35; *Ency. of Islam*, vol. i, p. 1003.

3. *I. aw, Promotion of Learning*, p. 102.

4. Cf. Ms. Bānkipūr, No. 1179 (Persian Mss.).

5. *I. e.*, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* and *Jāmi' al-Tirmidhī*.

6. *E. g.*, *Musnad Ahmad b. Hanbal*.

7. *E. g.*, *Sunan Abi Dāwūd*, *al-Nasā'i*, etc.

8. *Al-Nadwa*, March 1941; *Ḥayāt-i-Shibli*, pp. 11-13.

the *Maṣābiḥ* and the *Sharḥ Ma'ānī 'l-Āthār*. As for the *Mishkāṭ al-Maṣābiḥ*, we have no evidence to show if it was available at Delhi at the time.

Below is an attempt to trace the advent of the standard works on Hadith literature in Northern India during the period under review.

1. *Sunan* of Abū Dāwūd.

The earliest reference of Aḥādīth from the *Sunan* of Abū Dāwūd is noticed in al-Juzjānī's *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*¹ written during the Sulṭānate of Naṣīr al-Dīn Maḥmūd (644-64) and as such the *Sunan* must have been brought to Delhi by the middle of the 7th century. As no trace of the work was found in Delhi subsequently, we may presume that it had either been lost or removed elsewhere.

2. *Mashāriq al-Anwār*.

The earliest available work on Hadith in India was al-Ṣaghānī's *Mashāriq al-Anwār* which had been introduced into Delhi by Burhān al-Dīn Maḥmūd (d. 676), a pupil of al-Ṣaghānī, about the middle of the 7th century.² By 679/1280 Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' completed his study of the work which he later committed to memory.³ Since then the *Mashāriq al-Anwār* began to be more and more popular among the Sūfī scholars of India. During the time of Sulṭān Muḥammad b. Tughlaq (725-52), it was the only available work on Hadith in Delhi as is evident from the fact that the Sulṭān received *bay'a*, oath of allegiance, from his officials in the presence of the Qur'ān and a copy of the *Mashāriq al-Anwār* only.⁴ While leaving Delhi for the Deccan on account of Timūr's invasion

1. Pp. 325-26 ; cf. Ma'ārif, vol. xxiv, No. 4, p. 251.

2. *Supra*, p. 52.

3. *Supra*, p. 59.

4. *Tārikh-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 495

(801-02), the only book on Hadith Giṣū Darāz (d. 825), the then representative of the spiritual hierarchy founded by Niẓām al-Dīn, could lay his hand upon and did carry with him was a copy of the *Mashāriq al-Anwār* on which he commented afterwards. This book, *i.e.*, the *Mashāriq al-Anwār*, was in evidence not only in Delhi, as shown above, but was also found in other educational centres of India, *viz.*, Multān, Uchh and Manir. As a matter of fact, the *Mashāriq* was the most popular treatise on Hadith then known.

3. *Maṣābiḥ al-Sunna*.

Al-Baghawī's *Maṣābiḥ al-Sunna* was probably introduced into India by the middle of the 8th century as it appears from the fact that the book was taught in Delhi and Uchh by Makhdūm-i-Jahāniyān Jalāl al-Dīn al-Bukhārī (d. 785) and the Traditionist Jamāl al-Dīn al-Uchī respectively, and that it was referred to in the works of Sharaf al-Dīn Yaḥyā al-Manirī (d. 782).¹

4. *Al-Ṣaḥīḥān*.

Makhdūm al-Mulk Sharaf al-Dīn was the first scholar to have made reference of the *Ṣaḥīḥān* in his works compiled sometime between 741-86/1340-84.² Of all places the presence of the *Ṣaḥīḥān* in the *Khān-qā* of Manir at this time seems to be a mystery that cannot be easily unravelled. Maybe that while a student at Sunārgāon, the Makhdūm al-Mulk had procured them from the collection of his teacher and father-in-law Abū Taw'ama who must have brought them with him when coming over to India.³ Further the Makhdūm had also an additional copy of the *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* presented to him by Zain al-Dīn of Dewa, a scholar of the 8th century. To add to that, Shaykh

1. *Supra*, p. 68.

2. *Calcutta Review*, vol. lxxxi, p. 210.

3. *Supra*, p. 63.

al-Islām Mu'izz al-Bihārī rewarded his son Nawsha-i-Tawhīd of the *Khānqā* with a further copy of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim.

5. *Sunan Arba'*,¹ *Sunan al-Baihaqi* and *al-Mustadrak*.

Until the death of Makhdūm Sharaf al-Dīn in 782/1381, the *Khānqā* of Manir possessed only the *Ṣaḥīḥān*, the *Maṣābiḥ al-Sunna*, the *Mashāriq* and the *Musnad* of Abū Ya'la al-Mawṣilī. Subsequently the *Khānqā* was enriched by the addition to it of the *Sunan Arba'*, the *Sunan* of al-Baihaqi and the *Mustadrak* of al-Ḥākim al-Nisābūrī brought by Nawsha-i-Tawhīd from al-Hijāz.

6. *Sharḥ Ma'ānī 'l-Āthār*.

The *Ma'ānī 'l-Āthār* by al-Taḥāwī (d. 320) was introduced into Delhi towards the middle of the 8th century as the work has been referred to in Sharaf Muḥammad al-'Attārī's *Fawā'id-i-Firūz Shāhī*, a work on Fiqh dedicated to Sulṭān Firūz Shāh Tughlaq (752-90).² The work was also available at Jawnpūr.

7. *Musnad Firdaws al-Daylamī*.

This work was brought to Kashmīr by Amīr-i Kabir Shihāb al-Hamadānī (d. 786) but does not seem to have been utilized by anybody excepting himself utilizing it as he did in compiling his *al-Sab'in*.

8. *Mishkāṭ al-Maṣābiḥ*.

The *Mishkāṭ al-Maṣābiḥ* by al-Tabrizī (d. 739) appears to have been introduced into India in the beginning of the 9th century, if not earlier, as the works were available at Jawnpūr at this time.

1. I.e. the *Sunan* of Abū Dāwūd, al-Nasa'ī and Ibn Māja and the *Jāmi'* of al-Tirmidhī.

2. Bānkīpūr Catalogue, vol. xiv, No. 1225.

To sum up, the following works on Ḥadīth literature were found extant in different cultural seats of Northern India during the period under review :

Ṣiḥāḥ Sitta ;

Maṣābiḥ al-Sunna ;

Mashāriq al-Anwār ;

Mishkāt al-Maṣābiḥ ;

Sharḥ Ma'ānī 'l-Āthār ;

Sunan al-Baihaqī ;

Al-Mustadrak li 'l-Ḥākim ;

Musnad of Firdaws ; and

Musnad of Abū Ya'la al-Mawṣili.

CHAPTER IV

RENAISSANCE OF HADITH LEARNING IN INDIA [820-992/1417-1584]

Section I. Transmission of Ḥadīth to India from al-Hijāz

THE rise of the Bahmanis in the Deccan and the Muẓaffar Shāhī dynasty in Gujarāt towards the middle of the 8th century and the beginning of the 9th century respectively ushered in the millennium for the cultivation of Ḥadīth literature in that part of the country from where the science subsequently made its way to Northern India. The period of one hundred and eighty years covered by the rule of these neighbouring Muslim kingdoms was a landmark in the domain of cultural activities. Enlightened and accomplished, Sultāns of both these houses displayed marvellous zeal for the promotion of learning in their respective dominions. With that end in view, they invited to their capitals men of letters from far and near, and extended to them their lavish munificence. Few dynasties during the Muslim hegemony in India could produce a ruler of the attainments of Fīrūz Shāh Bahmanī (800-25/1397-1422) or Muẓaffar II (917-32/1511-25), the royal Maecenas of Gujarāt. A good linguist, the former used to send ships every year from the ports of Goa and Chaul to different countries, particularly to invite to his court men celebrated for their learning.¹ Whereas the latter promoted learning with great zeal, and men of letters from Persia, Arabia and Turkey found it worthwhile to settle in Gujarāt in his liberal reign.² Not the Sultāns alone but some of their viziers also distinguished themselves as educationists and patrons of learning. Mention in this respect may be made of Maḥmūd Gāwān of Deccan

1. Law, op. cit., pp. 83-85.

2. Ibid., p. 106.

and Aṣaf Khān of Gujarāt. They were, both traditionists and scholars, and, in spite of their onerous state duties, devoted themselves to literary activities, and spent most of their incomes on the maintenance of the poor and famished *litterateurs* living in different parts of the Muslim World. As a matter of fact, the Deccan, under the Bahmanis, and Gujarāt under the Muẓaffar Shāhis, became a cynosure for the scholars, *litterateurs*, poets and talented person desirous of obtaining patronage. As a result, the Muḥaddithūn from al-Hijāz and Egypt began to flock to their kingdoms. This mass movement of traditionists was due as much to the love and reverence shown to the Apostolic tradition by the Sultāns as also to the easy means of communications, now available, by the opening of the pilgrim-route across the Arabian Sea in place of the long and hazardous land-route hitherto used by the Indian Muslims. Henceforth, regular sailings were arranged under the orders of the Sultāns during the pilgrimage season from the ports of South India particularly from those of Gujarāt which then came to be known as *Bāb Makka*, the Gate of Makka.¹ Further, as the commerce of the Arabs with South Indian ports, that had long been established, now became extensive, sailings were undertaken more frequently.² The intimate relationship, which thus subsisted between India and Arabia, coupled with liberal patronage extended to the Traditionists by the aforesaid royal houses, played a vital part in the diffusion of Hadīth learning in India.

Before going into details of the migration of the Traditionists just referred to, it will not be out of place here to find out whether religious learning was

1. *Cambridge History of India*, III, p. 312; Ma'ārif, Vol. XXII, No. 4, p. 258.

2. Many a Traditionist, too, came to India for the purpose of trade but finding great scope for carrying on cultural activities in the Deccan and Gujarāt, they permanently settled there (*Infra*, p. 89).

introduced into the Muslim settlements of South India which had come into being under the auspices of the Arab traders and missionaries prior to the Muslim conquest.¹

The history of the introduction of religious learning into South India is shrouded in darkness. The erection of as many as eleven mosques on the Mālābār Coast in the 3rd century of the Hijra,² however, suggests that with the progress of missionary activities in that part of the country religious learning must have been introduced there. For, after all, the neo-Muslims had to be given instructions in the rudiments of Islamic rites and rituals. As a matter of fact, the Arabs were as much solicitous for new converts as for turning them into good Muslims. With this end in view, they built mosques wherever they found some converts. Ordinarily, a mosque served a twofold purpose. It was, first, a place for congregational services (*jamā'at*) and, secondly, an institution for imparting religious instructions; so that religious education flourished side by side with conversion. Thus, the raising of a mosque in the early Islām necessarily meant the foundation of a religious institution.³ We can, therefore, reasonably hold that the introduction of religious learning into South India dated as far back as the 3rd century A.H. when mosques were founded on the Mālābār Coast. Henceforward, with the expansion of Islām and the establishment of Arab colonies there, there rose chapels and splendid mosques on all sides⁴ which,

1. Muslim settlements were founded on the Mālābār Coast, Ma'bar (Coromandal Coast) and Gujarāt. For details, see Nadawī, *'Arab wa Hind ke Ta'lluqāt*, pp. 265, 302.

2. Zayn al-Dīn, *Tuhfat al-Mujāhidīn*, ed. Ilyderābād, pp. 14-21; Tara Chand, *Influence of Islām on Indian Culture*, p. 35; *Preaching of Islām*, p. 265; Dacca University Journal, vol. xvi, 1942, p. 82, art. Early Expansion of Islām in South India.

3. *Ency. of Islām*, Vol. III, pp. 350-53.

4. Mas'ūdī, *Muruj al-Dhahab*, ed. Menard, Paris, Vol. I, p. 382; also Nadwī, pp. 269, 280-81, 283 seq.

evidently, developed into seats of Islamic learning. Further, institution in the 4th century of the office of Qāḍī in the kingdom of Zamorin¹ shows the growing activities of the Islāmic Shari'a there.

That, having been introduced in the 3rd century, Islāmic learning went on gaining in popularity in the Muslim colonies of South India, is abundantly clear from the account of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. By his time, *i.e.*, the middle of the 8th century, religious learning was so much in evidence and the number of learners increased so vastly in the Muslim settlement of Honawar (modern Honavar in the district of Kanara, Bombay Presidency) that as many as thirteen schools for the girls and twenty-three for the boys had to be built there. The ladies of this settlement, *en masse*, were *ḥāfiẓāt*, memorisers, of the Qur'ān—an extraordinary feature of the great popularity of religious learning seldom to be met with anywhere at the time.² At Manjarur (Mangalore in South Kanara, Madras), Ibn Baṭṭūṭa saw a Shāfi'ite qāḍī, Badr al-Dīn al-Ma'barī by name, who, over and above his official duties, used to carry on teaching work at a school in the city.³ In the Jāmi' of Hīlī, again, a number of students were found receiving instructions, while their board and lodging were supplied *gratis*.⁴ The mosques he saw at Calicut likewise provided for religious teachings.

The foregoing lines amply demonstrate how widespread religious education was among the Muslim settlements of South India on the eve of the Muslim

1. Nadawī, p. 279, quoting from '*Ajā'ib al-Hind*, by Buzarg b. Shahrīyār (Leiden, 1836), p. 144.

2. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 65-67.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 79-80.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 81-82. Hīlī has been identified with Mount Delly, 16 miles north of Cannanore in the Province of Madras [Gibb, *Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Travels in Asia & Africa* (London 1929), Vol. II, p. 296; Nadawī, p. 292].

conquest. Whether with the growth of religious learning the study of Hadīth was pursued alongside that of the Qur'ān remains yet to be seen.

Unlike the Muslims of Northern India who professed the Hanafite School of Law, those of the South were Shāfi'ites,¹ the former representing the religious learning of the Central Asia, viz., Fiqh,² while the latter that of al-Hijāz, viz., Hadīth—a state of things that cannot but serve as an object lesson for our present query. After all, the Shāfi'ites were more attached to Hadīth³ than the Hanafites who concerned themselves more with Fiqh, as we have already observed.⁴

The Moorish traveller Ibn Baṭṭūṭa to whom we owe some interesting sidelights on the religious and cultural life of the Muslims of South India, does not, however, refer to have seen any Muḥaddith there. Incidentally, he came across many a Shāfi'ite jurist (faqīh) in the Muslim colonies.⁵ About fifty years after Ibn Baṭṭūṭa had visited the South, there were found in some towns of the Deccan a number of Muḥaddithūn who were recipients of endowments from Sultān Maḥmūd Shāh Bahmanī I (780-99/1378-97).⁶ Who were these Muḥaddithūn, is the question that naturally presents itself to us. Firishta, who furnishes this piece of information, does not give us any details. One thing that emerges out of it is that these Traditionists were not foreigners. For, in that case we would have some of their names at least preserved in the biographical literatures of the 8th or the 9th century scholars who had evidently migrated to the Deccan. Nor did they belong to Northern India either, where Muḥaddith,

1. Cf. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, pp. 66, 68, 80, 88; Nadawī, p. 259.

2. Ma'ārif. Vol. XXII, No. 4, pp. 253-54.

3. Shāh Wali Allāh al-Dihlawī, *al-Insāf*, ed. Muḥṭabā'ī Press (Delhi, 1909), pp. 77, 79-80.

4. Supra, p. 55.

5. Pages 66, 68, 78, 80, 88, 90.

6. Firishta, Vol. I, p. 302.

in the true sense of the term, was scarcely known at the time. Hence, in all probability, they were the natives of South India. This hypothesis gains in strength from the presence in South India at the time of Ibn Battūta of the Shāfi'ite scholars who may well be called Muḥaddithūn. We may, therefore, safely presume that the Shāfi'i Fuqahā' of Ibn Battūta's description were the self-same persons who were later identified as Muḥaddithūn by Firishta—Muḥaddithūn who then came to settle in the Deccan under the patronage of the Bahmani Sultāns. This hypothesis, further, leads us to conclude that before the Bahmanīs and the Muẓaffar Shāhis came to power, Hadīth literature had already been introduced into South India by the Shāfi'ite scholars, although the 9th century marked the dawn of its new era.

During the first quarter of the 9th century while Hadīth literature was just in the process of being transmitted to India, a new school of Muḥaddithūn sprang up in Egypt under the leadership of Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalānī (773-852), one of the greatest Traditionists Islām has ever produced.¹ This school produced among others 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī (831-902) and Zain al-Dīn Zakariyya al-Anṣārī (826-925), the two outstanding Traditionists of their time. Of them, the first had Haramayn as the centre of his activities,² while the other, al-Qāhira.³ It was Ibn Hajar al-Haythamī (909-974), a worthy pupil of Zakariyya al-Anṣārī who was responsible for enhancing the reputation of Makka as a famous seat of Hadīth learning.⁴ Thus right through the first quarter of

1. *Shadharāt*, Vol. VII, pp. 270-73.
2. *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 16-17, 'Abd al-Qādir al-'Aidarūsī, *al-Nūr al-Sāfir 'An Akhbār al-Qarn al-'Āshir* (Baghdād, 1934), pp. 17-20.
3. *Al-Nūr al-Sāfir*, pp. 122-23; *Shadharāt*, Vol. VIII, pp. 134-36.
4. *Al-Nūr al-Sāfir*, pp. 287-92; *Shadharāt*, Vol. VIII, pp. 370-71.

the 9th century down to the third quarter of the 10th century, there flourished, in succession, in both Egypt and the Haramayn four schools of Muḥaddithūn which served as the *via media* for the transmission of Hadīth literature to India.

A noteworthy feature about the founders of these schools was that all of them belonged to Egypt. Indeed, during the period under review, Egypt was particularly rich with Muḥaddithūn. In addition to the traditionists above referred to, it also produced in this period al-Suyūṭī (d. 911) and al-Qaṣṭallānī (d. 923). To the credit of Egypt, may it be said that most of the Traditionists who transmitted Hadīth to India were either Egyptians or their disciples. Nevertheless, Arabia remained the transmitting centre from where Hadīth literature eventually made its way to India. This was because Arabia was linked up with India in more ways than one and, consequently, the Schools of Muḥaddithūn of the former became intimate with the latter. As such, the Schools of al-'Asqalānī and al-Anṣārī in Egypt, could not command that amount of popularity as those of al-Sakhāwī and al-Haythamī in al-Ḥijāz did. Without minimising Arabia's contribution towards the transmission of Hadīth in India, in fairness to Egypt, it must be said that but for the Egyptian Muḥaddithūn, Hadīth literature in this country could not have made that much progress as it really did.

MIGRATION OF THE TRADITIONISTS

Before we discuss the migration to India of the Muḥaddithūn of the above four schools, it is in the fitness of things to say a few words about Badr al-Damāmīnī and Nūr al-Dīn al-Shirāzī who were the earliest immigrants to India.

Badr al-Dīn al-Damāmīnī (763-827/1361-1424)

Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Mākhzūmī al-Iskandārī al-Mālīkī al-Damāmīnī reached Gujarāt in Sha'bān, 820/September, 1417, during the reign of Sulṭān Aḥmad b. Muẓaffar Shāh (814-43/1411-43).¹ On the eve of his migration to India, he was a Professor in the Jāmi' Zabīd, in al-Yaman.² Here he prepared a commentary upon the Ṣaḥīḥ of al-Bukhārī entitled *Maṣābiḥ al-Jāmi'*. While still at Zabīd, his dedication of this work to Aḥmad Shāh shows that al-Damāmīnī had already been impressed with the literary munificence of the Sulṭān. In Gujarāt al-Damāmīnī wrote his *Ta'liq al-Farā'id*, *Tuhfat al-Gharīb Sharḥ al-Mughnī 'l-Labīb* and *'Ain al-Ḥayāt fī khulāṣa Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān* by al-Damīrī all of which were consecrated to the memory of his patron Aḥmad Shāh.³ At this time, the Deccan had in Fīrūz Shāh Bahmanī (800-25/1397-1422) and his successor Aḥmad Shāh (825-38/1422-34), two illustrious patrons of learning. The latter's patronage to the learned and the pious attracted al-Damāmīnī to Gulbarga,⁴ the capital of the Bahmanī Sulṭāns, where he spent the last days of his life until he died in Sha'bān, 827/July, 1424.⁵

1. 'Abd al-Ḥayy Nadawī, *Nuzha*, III (MS) s.v. al-Badr al-Damāmīnī; Loth, *Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the India Office* (London, 1877), p. 267. No. 964.

2. Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw' al Lāmi'* (Cairo, 1353 A.H.) Vol. VII, pp. 185-86.

3. Ḥājī Khalīfa, Vol. II, p. 529; Nawwāb Ṣiddīq Ḥasan Khān, *Ithāf al-Nubalā'*, ed. Bhupāl, p. 53; *al-Ḥiṭṭa* (Cawnpore, 1283 A.H.), p. 93. From an old MS of the *Maṣābiḥ al-Jāmi'* it appears that the author completed the work at Zabīd in Rabī' I, 818 A.H. The date 828 A.H. as given in the *Ithāf al-Nubalā'*, loc. cit. and *al-Ḥiṭṭa*, loc. cit., is evidently a mistake for 818 as al-Damāmīnī died in 827 A.H.

4. *Nuzha*, loc. cit.. *Yād-i-Ayyām*, p. 36.

5. Al-Damāmīnī, *al-Manḥal al-Safī fī Sharḥ al-Wafī*, *al-Muqaddima* (MS in Asāḥīva Library, Hyderābād, vol. II, 1658, No. 50.) fragments quoted in the *Sulṭān Aḥmad Shāh Bahmanī*, a biographical treatise, by Mawlawī Zāhir al-Dīn (Hyderābād, 1936) pp. 132-35.

6. *Al-Daw' al-Lāmi'*, vol. VII, pp. 185-86; *Shadharāt*, Vol. VII, pp. 181-82; *Shawkhāni*, al-Badr al-Ṭālī' (Cairo, 1348 A.H.), Vol II, pp. 150 seq.

He dedicated his *al-Manḥal al-Ṣafī fī Ṣharḥ al-Wafī*, a treatise on Arabic grammar to his Bahmanī patron, Aḥmad Shāh.¹

Born at Alexandria in 763/1361, Badr al-Dīn al-Damāmīnī, on finishing his studies under his grandfather al-Bahā' al-Damāmīnī, his cousin, the famous Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808) and some other teachers of al-Qāhira and Makka, held the Professorship of the Jāmi' al-Azhar for several years.² He was an authority on Arabic lexicography and grammar³ and had been mentioned as such by al-Suyūṭī in his *Bughyat al-Wu'āt*.⁴ He also wrote a few books on Ḥadīth literature. His *Maṣābiḥ al-Jāmi'*, a MS. copy of which is in the Khadiwiyya library of Egypt,⁵ is devoted pre-eminently to grammatical intricacies of the text of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī.⁶ Of his two other works on the subject, viz., *al-Fath al-Rabbānī*⁷ and *Ta'liq al-Maṣābiḥ*,⁸ the first is also preserved in the Khadiwiyya,⁹ while the other is found to have been extant in Arabia at the time of Ṣaḥīb b. Muḥammad (d.1218), a Madinian traditionist, who was otherwise known as Fullānī.¹⁰

*Abū'l-Futūḥ Nūr al-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh
al-Shirāzi al-Tāwūsi*

Abū'l-Futūḥ was born at Abarqūh¹¹ in Fāris. He

1. *Al-Manḥal al-Ṣafī*, loc. cit.

2. *Al-Daw' al-Lāmi'*, loc. cit.

3. For his works, see Brockelmann, *supplement*, i, pp. 26-27.

4. *Bughyat al-Wu'āt*, ed. Egypt, p. 27.

5. *Fihris al-Khadiwiyya*. Vol. I, p. 422.

6. *Al-Daw' al-Lāmi'*, loc. cit.; Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Dihlawī. *Bustān al-Muḥaddithin* (Delhi, 1898), pp. 117-18.

7. *Qāmūs al-Tarājim*, Vol. III, p. 872.

8. The full title of the book is *Ta'liq al-Maṣābiḥ 'alā' Abwāb Jāmi' al-Ṣaḥīḥ (Iḥāf al-Nubalā'*, p.41).

9. *Fihris*, Vol. I, p. 376.

10. Fullānī, *Qaṭaf al-Thamar* appended to the *Rasā'il al-Asānīd*, parts I-IV (Hyderabad, 1328), p. 34.

11. *Ibid.* p. 15.

derived his *nisba* of al-Ṭāwūsī from his connection with the shrine of Ṭāwūs al-Ḥaramayn there.¹ He came to Gujarāt probably during the reign of Aḥmad Shāh (814-844/1411-43).² He was a pupil of Majd al-Dīn al-Firūzābādī (d.817), Shams al-Dīn al-Jazarī (d.833), Sayyid Sharif al-Jurjānī (d.822) and Bābā Yūsuf al-Harawī.³ With the last, he studied the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī and received from him '*sanad 'ālī*', high sanad, so called because between al-Ḥarawī and al-Bukhārī the number of transmitters was fewer than that existed between any other contemporary of al-Ḥarawī and al-Bukhārī.⁴ Abū l-Futūḥ had his lessons of the *Mishkāt al-Maṣābiḥ* from Sharaf al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥīm who in his turn had them from Imām al-Dīn, a disciple of the celebrated author al-Khaṭīb al-Tabrizī⁵ (d.739).

I. TRADITIONISTS BELONGING TO THE SHCOOL OF IBN ḤAJAR AL-'ASQALĀNĪ (d. 852)

1. Yaḥyā b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī' l-Khayr al-Ḥāshimī al-Shāfi'i (789-843/1387-1439).

He came of a family of Makkan Traditionists who were known under their patronymic Ibn Fahd. In 830/1426-27, he landed at Cambay⁶ and after his stay there for two years, he went to Gulbargā apparently with a view to enjoy the patronage of Aḥmad Shāh Bahmanī I. He died at Mahur, in South Berār, in Jumādā II or Rajab, 843/November or December, 1439.

1. Le Strange, p. 284.

2. *Yād-i-Ayyām*, p. 34.

3. *Nuzha*, Vol. III, s.v. Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Shīrāzī.

4. Ibrāhīm al-Kurdī, *al-Amam* (Rasā'il al-Asānid), p. 5; *Qaṭaf al-Thamar*, 13, 15; Muḥsin al-Tirhatī, *al-Yāni' al-Jani* (Delhi, 1287 A.H.), pp. 26-32.

5. *Nuzha*, Vol. III, loc.cit.

6. In Bombay Presidency, lat. 72: 19N: Long. 72. 88, E.

Ibn Fahd acquired the Science of Tradition from Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalānī and other contemporary Shuyūkh of Egypt, Makka and al-Madīna and had *Ijāza* (authority to teach Hadīth) from Zain al-Dīn al-'Irāqī (d. 806) and Nūr al-Dīn al-Haythamī (d. 807).¹

2. *Maḥmūd Gāwān* (813-86/1410-81)

Khawāja 'Imād al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Md. b. Aḥmad al-Kilānī, commonly known in Indian history as Maḥmūd Gāwān, was the famous minister of the Bahmanis. He came to the Deccan at the time of 'Alā' al-Dīn Shāh Bahmanī II (838-62/1434-1458).²

Born in 813/1410 of a house of princes in Gīlān, a small province on the Caspian,³ Maḥmūd received education under his brother Aḥmad, a pupil of Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalānī.⁴ To pursue higher studies in Hadīth literature, he proceeded to al-Qāhira in 843/1439 and read the *Ṣaḥīḥs* of al-Bukhārī and Muslim with Ibn Hajar and Zain al-Dīn al-Zarkashī (d. 845) respectively. He also read Hadīth with several *A'imma*, Professors of Hadīth of Syria. That Maḥmūd was well-versed in the Science of Tradition is gathered from the *Munāwala* granted to him by Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalānī.⁵ Excepting his quotation of Aḥādīth⁶ in his *Riyāḍ al-Inshā'*,⁷ a collection of letters addressed

1. Ibn Fahd, Mu'jam (MS. Bankipore, No. 2429), foll. 298b, 299a; Sakhāwī, op.cit., Vol. X, p. 233.

2. See Maḥmūd Gāwān's *Riyāḍ al-Inshā'* (MS. Ḥabībganj) letter, No. 21 vide Indian Historical Records Commission, Proceedings (Simla, 1941) art. The *Riyāḍ al-Inshā'* as a source Book of Deccan History by H.K. Sherwānī, p. 171; Firishṭa, vol. i, p. 358; *Ency. of Islām*, vol. iii, pp 135 seq.

3. Le Strange, p. 172.

4. Sakhāwī, Vol. II, 94-96.

5. Ibid., vol. X. pp. 144-45: *Nuzha*, Vol. III, s.v. Imād al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-Kilānī.

6. Indian Hist. Record Commission, loc. cit.

7. Law (op. cit., p. 87) mistakes *Rawzat al-Inshā'* for *Riyāḍ al-Inshā'*.

to different personages of India and outside, we have no other evidence of his proficiency in the Science of Tradition.

Maḥmūd Gāwān served the Bahmanī dynasty with conspicuous ability for thirty-five years.¹ His celebrity was as much due to his administrative reforms as to his widespread literary munificence. He was a benefactor of humanity and mainstay of the poor *litterateurs* of merit and distinction.² As such, the news of his unjustifiable murder by Muḥammad Shāh Bahmanī II (857-87/1463-82) on Ṣafar 5, 886/April, 1481, cast a gloom over the literary circles at Makka.³

Two years before his death Maḥmūd built a magnificent college at Bidar which he equipped with his personal library containing 3,000 volumes⁴ or, according to another version, 35,000 volumes,⁵ and of which ruins are found to this day. As a Traditionist of the Shāfi'ite School,⁶ he naturally emphasized the teaching of Ḥadīth in his college. And his 'splendid library' must have included some books on Ḥadīth literature.

II. TRADITIONISTS BELONGING TO THE SCHOOL OF 'ABD AL-RAḤMĀN AL-SAKHĀWĪ (d. 902).

1. *Abū'l-Faṭḥ b. al-Raḍī al-Makkī* (d. 886/1481)

He was born at Makka in Rabi'ī-Awwal, 854/April, 1450, and came in contact with, and heard Ḥadīth from al-Sakhāwī during the latter's sojourn in al-Hijāz in 870/1465. Shortly after, he left for Mandū,⁷

1. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 420.

2. *Ency. of Islām*, loc. cit.; Law. p. 87; Firishta, Vol. I, p. 359.

3. Sakhāwī, Vol. X, p. 145.

4. Firishta, Vol. II, p. 360.

5. Murtaḍā Husain, *Ḥadīqat al-Aqālīm* (MS ASB).

6. Cf. Sakhāwī, vol. X, p. 144 and Vol. II, p. 94.

7. Now in Dhar State, Central India, situated. in 22. 2 N. & 75. 26. E, 26 Miles from Dhar town (*Imp Gez.*, Vol. XVII, p. 171).

the capital of Mālwa, where he lived for about thirteen years. Then he returned to Makka and died in 886/1481.¹

2. *Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ*

Another student of al-Sakhāwī who settled down at Mandū was Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ. His father, a native of Makka, had migrated to India where Aḥmad was born. But he was brought up and educated at Makka. A *Hāfiẓ* of the Qur'ān, he read Ḥadīth literature with al-Sakhāwī. To secure a living Aḥmad came to Mandū during the latter days of Sulṭān Ghiyāth al-Dīn of Mālwa (874-906/1469-1500). His death date is not known.²

3. *‘Umar b. Muḥammad al-Dimashqī Nazīl al-Kanbāyat* (829-circ. 900/1425-94)

‘Umar who was born at Damascus, was at once a fellow-student and a disciple of al-Sakhāwī. Along with al-Sakhāwī, he attended in Shawwāl, 853/November, 1449, the lectures of the lady Traditionist Sarā bint al-Jama‘a (d. 855) on Ṭabrānī's *Mu‘jam al-Kabīr* in al-Qāhira. In 857/1453, he came to Cambay (Arabic Kanbāyat) as a merchant and subsequently accepted office under the local government as Qaḍī of the Shāfi‘ites. While on deputation from the Governor of Cambay to that of al-Qāhira, he broke his journey at Makka in the winter of 886/1481 and studied Ḥadīth literature under al-Sakhāwī for one year. Then he went to al-Qāhira, and performed his business with which he had been commissioned. Before sailing back, he again heard Ḥadīth and obtained *Ijāza* from al-Sakhāwī who happened to be there at the time. ‘Umar settled permanently at Cambay and, accordingly, came to be

1. Sakhāwī, Vol. XI, p. 125.

2. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 316.

known as *Nazil Kanbāyat*.¹ His death-date has not come down to us.

4. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Maḥmūd al-Ṭūsī al-Shāfi'ī
(836-circ. 910/1432-1504).

'Abd al-'Azīz was born at Ṭūs in Khurāsān in Ramaḍān, 836/March, 1432. He acquired Ḥadīth from Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Abharī, a pupil of Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī and Mīr Aṣīl al-Dīn b. Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (d.883). In 870/1463 he migrated to Makka and heard *Musalsal* Tradition from al-Sakhāwī. But he could not long enjoy the association of al-Sakhāwī as he had to leave Makka in search of his living elsewhere. Thus he came to the Deccan during the later days of Maḥmūd Gāwān who appointed him tutor for teaching his son-in-law al-Muḥarra,² a work on the Shāfi'ite Fiqh.³

5. *Wajīh al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Mālikī* (856-919/-
1452-1513)

Wajīh al-Dīn came of a family of the Mālikite jurists of Egypt where he was born on Sha'bān 6, 856/August, 1452. He received early education under his father Muḥammad, a jurist, who had the privilege of reading with Ibn Ḥajar.⁴ In 886/1481, he joined the School of al-Sakhāwī at Makka and engaged himself for a considerable period in the study of Ḥadīth literature. We next meet him in al-Yaman as a Lecturer in Ḥadīth at the college of Zayla' from where he sailed for Cambay *en route* to Almadābād. As for his arrival in Gujarāt, it could not have been later than 898/1492, as is evident from his correspondence from Gujarāt with his friends at Makka.

1. Ibid., Vol. VI, p. 73.

2. Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 234.

3. Cf. Bankipore Catalogue, Vol. V, (2), p. 71.

4. Sakhāwī, Vol. VII, p. 287-88.

At the instance of the Governor of Cambay, Wajih al-Dīn opened a Hadith class there and taught among others the *Shifā'* of Qādī 'Iyād.¹ Soon his name spread far and wide. In recognition of his scholarship Sultān Maḥmūd I (863-917/1458-1511) conferred upon him the title of *Malik al-Muhaddithin*, the Prince of the Traditionists.² The Sultān further appointed him as the chief of the Revenue Officers of his kingdom and lavishly showered his bounties upon him.³

In spite of his official duties, Wajih al-Dīn could make time to cultivate Hadith literature. For compiling books on the subject, he engaged experts on handsome remunerations. Thus, Jār Allāh b. Fahd,⁴ a Makkan Traditionist, compiled for Wajih al-Dīn an *Arba'in* entitled *Fath al-Mubin*, a treatise highly spoken of by contemporary scholars.⁵ His interest for Hadith literature was so great that he would always be on the lookout for new publications on the subject, so that as soon as the copies of Ibn Hajar's *Fath al-Bārī*, the celebrated commentary on the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī, were ready for circulation, he secured a copy for himself, which he presented to his friend Mukhāṭib 'Alī Khān, a noble of Gujarāt. The latter in his turn sent the book to the library of Sultān Muẓaffar Shāh (917-38/1511-25). The Sultān was so much pleased with the presentation that he granted Mukhāṭib 'Alī Khān the fief of Broach.⁶

Wajih al-Dīn died at Aḥmadābād in 919/1513.⁷

1. Ibid., Vol. IX, pp. 90-91.

2. *Al-Nūr al-Sāfir*, pp. 102-03.

3. Ulughkhānī. Vol. I, p. 118.

4. He was a pupil of al-Sakhāwī (*Shadharat*, Vol. VIII, p. 301).

5. Ulughkhānī, p. 117.

6. Ibid., p. 118.

7. *Nūr* p. 102; *Shadharat*, Vol. VIII, p. 94.

6. *Husain b. 'Abd Allāh b. Awliyā' al-Kirmānī*
(d. circ. 930/1523)

A native of Makka, Husain, who was known by his patronymic Aṣīl al-Dīn, read with al-Sakhāwī the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī, the *Musnad* of al-Shāfi'i and the *Mashāriq al-Anwār*. He was a keen student of Hadith literature and obtained *al-Ijāza* from al-Sakhāwī. In 896/1490, he came to Dabul (Dabul in Bijāpūr) where he lived for about four years and then went back to Makka in about 901/1495.¹ Though records do not mention anything about his academic activities here, during his sojourn extending over a period of four years, nevertheless, we can presume that as a Traditionist he did carry on the work of the diffusion of Hadith literature.

7. *Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Ḥaḍramī*
(869-930/1464-1524)

Jamāl al-Dīn who was famous as Baḥraq, came to Gujarāt in 928/1522.² He was a Traditionist as well as a jurist of the Shāfi'ite School.³ He distinguished himself as a teacher of Sulṭān Muẓaffar II of Gujarāt, who read Hadith with him.⁴ His unusual popularity in the Court of Muẓaffar Shāh excited jealousy of the nobility as a result of which he was poisoned to death on the night of Sha'bān 20, 930/June, 1524.⁵

Jamāl al-Dīn was born at Ḥaḍramaūt in 869/1464. Already a sound scholar, he came into contact with al-Sakhāwī in the pilgrimage season of 894/1489 and under him he gave a finishing touch to his education in Hadith—a subject he long studied with Muḥammad b.

1. *Al-Daw' al-Lūmī'*, Vol. III, p. 147-48.

2. *Nūr*, p. 147 and cf. p. 132.

3. For his works on Shāfi'ite Fiqh, Brockelmann, Sup., i, pp. 554-55.

4. *Ulughkānī*, p. 119; *Yād-i-Ayyām*, pp. 13, 34.

5. *Nūr*, pp. 143, 151.

'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Sharjī and Muḥammad al-Ṣā'igh at Zabīd.¹ He prepared a compendium of al-Mundhirī's *al-Tarḡīb wa 'l-Tarḥīb*² under the title of *al-Taqrīb wa 'l-Tahdhīb*—a MS. copy of which is to be found in the State Library of Rāmpūr.³

8. *Rafī' al-Dīn al-Ṣafawī* (d. 954/1547)

Al-Sakhāwī's pupil who carried on a pioneer work on Ḥadīth at Agrā, was Rafī' al-Dīn al-Ṣafawī.⁴ He traced his descent to Ṣafī al-Dīn, the famous founder of the Ṣafawī Order in Persia, which under Shāh Ismā'īl (905-930/1499-1523) had assumed the militant Shī'a character.⁵ Born at Shīrāz in about the third quarter of the 9th century, Rafī' al-Dīn, while yet a student under Jalāl al-Dīn al-Dawwānī (d. 928), obtained, by mere correspondence, *al-Ijāza* for good many Ḥadīth works from al-Sakhāwī.⁶ As towards the close of this century, the life and religion of the Sunnīs in Persia were daily being endangered by the Qizilbāsh,⁷ the father of Rafī' al-Dīn migrated to the Ḥaramayn.⁸ This offered our young learner an opportunity of coming into close touch with and mastering Ḥadīth literature under al-Sakhāwī. Probably after the death of al-Sakhāwī in 902/1496, Rafī' al-Dīn left for Gujarāt where he reached in the later period of the reign of Sulṭān Maḥmūd I (863-917/1458-1511).⁹ Thence he came to Agrā which at this time, through the liberality of Sulṭān Sikandar

1. Ibid., p. 146; *Shadharāt*, Vol. viii, pp. 176-77; Ulughkhānī, p. 119.

2. *Nūr*, p. 147.

3. Catalogue, Vol. I, No 59.

4. Ma'ārif, Vol. XXII, No. 4, p. 258.

5. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, (London, 1931), Vol. IV, pp. 18-20, 22.

6. *Akhbār*, pp. 235-36; *Hadā'iq*, p. 376.

7. 'Red-head' men (*Qizilbāsh* in Turkish or *Surkh sar* in Persian) were the followers of the Ṣafawī Order (Browne, Vol. IV, p. 48).

8. Badā'ūnī, *Muntakhab ut-Tawārikh* (Biblio. Indica, 1869), Vol. III, p. 126 = Haig's tr. (Calcutta, 1925), Vol. III, p. 184; *Akhbār*, p. 256; Browne, p. 19.

9. Or during the Sulṭanate of Sikandar Lūdī (894-923), as in the *Akhbār al-Akhyār*.

Lūdī (894-923/1488-15), developed into an important seat of learning. That the Sultān took a keen interest for Hadith literature is seen from the transcription under his orders of a part of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim now preserved in the Oriental Library at Bankipur.¹ As expected Sultān Sikandar Lūdī built for the Traditionist a house in a quarter of the city, which was subsequently named after him.² Here Rafī' al-Dīn taught Hadith for about thirty-four years and died full of honour in 954/1541.³

Rafī' al-Dīn was also intimate with Sher Shāh Sūrī (946-52/1539-45) whose premature death frustrated his project of deputing the Traditionist to the then Ottoman Emperor with a view to put down the Shi'a menace in Persia and to connect India with al-Ḥijāz by a pilgrim highroad.⁴

III. TRADITIONISTS BELONGING TO THE SCHOOL OF ZAKARĪYYA AL-ANṢĀRĪ (d. 925)

1. 'Abd al-Mu'tī al-Ḥaḍramī (d. 989/1581)

He was born at Makka in Rajab, 905/February, 1500, and joined along with his father al-Ḥasan the School of Shaykh al-Islām Zakarīyya al-Anṣārī in al-Qāhira. Both attended the lectures of al-Anṣārī on the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī, the father playing the role of a *qārī*, reader of the text, while the son of a *sāmī*, listener. He migrated to Aḥmadābād prior to 963/1555,⁵ and was on terms of intimacy with the enlightened family of 'Aidarūsī settled in Aḥmadābād. His chief occupation in Gujarāt had been the teaching of Hadith, particularly the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī. He was also the author of the *Kitāb Asmā' al-Rijāl al-Bukhārī*.

1. Bankipur Catalogue, vol. v (2), p. 219.

2. Law, op. cit., pp. 73 seq.

3. Badā'ūnī, p. 129 = Haig, p. 183.

4. Ma'ārif, vol. xxii No. 4, p. 258; *Akhbār*, p. 236.

5. *Nūr*, p. 256.

'Abd al-Qādir makes mention of it in his *al-Nur al-Sāfir* and says that the book, though incomplete, was a voluminous one. He died at Aḥmadābād in Dhū'l-Hijja, 989/January, 1581.¹

2. *Shihāb al-Dīn al-'Abbāsī* (d. 992/1584)

Another student of Zakarīyya al-Anṣārī, who was devoted to the cause of Ḥadīth in Gujarāt, was Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-'Abbāsī. He was born in Egypt in 903/1497. He learnt by heart al-Maqdisī's '*Umda fi 'l-Ḥadīth*' and al-Nawawī's *Arba'in*. He was a strict observer of the *Sunna* even in the day-to-day affairs of his life. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-'Umūdī of Aḥmadābād was among his disciples. He died in Ṣafar, 992/February, 1584.²

IV. TRADITIONISTS BELONGING TO THE SCHOOL OF IBN ḤAJAR AL-HAYTHAMĪ

1. *Shaykh* b. 'Abd Allāh al-'Aidarūsī, (d. 990/1582)

Shaykh was the father of our 'Abd al-Qādir al-'Aidarūsī, the author of *al-Nūr al-Sāfir*.³ He was born at Tarīm in Hadramaut in 919/1513 and early joined the School of Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī at Makka and obtained *al-Ijāza* from him. He also read with 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Dayba' who was a famous pupil of al-Sakhāwī and the author of a commentary upon the *Mishkāṭ al-Maṣābiḥ*.⁴ In 958/1551, he migrated to Aḥmadābād. His family enjoyed reputation for learning and scholarship. His home, which was a seat of Taṣawwūf and Ḥadīth learning, was a resort of scholars of all grades. As a

1. Ibid., pp. 364 seq.; *Shadharāt*, vol. viii, pp. 417-18; *Yād-i-Ayyām*, p. 34; Ma'ārif, vol. xxii No. 4, p. 260.

2. 'Ulughkhānī, vol. ii, p. 640; *Nūr*, pp. 404-05; *Shadharāt*, vol. viii, pp. 426-27.

3. *Shadharāt*, p. 423.

4. Ibid., pp. 256-58. The work has not been printed as yet but manuscript copies are available in Bombay and Surat.

scholar, Shaykh b. 'Abd Allāh was so popular and held in such an esteem that on the conclusion of his lectures on *Ihyā' al-Ulūm* by al-Ghazālī and the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī in 981/1575 and 985/1577 respectively, a man of 'Abd al-Mu'ī's standing recited poems as a mark of his great appreciation for him.¹ He died at Aḥmadābād in Ramaḍān, 990/September, 1582.²

2. *Abu 'l-Sa'adat Muḥammad al-Fākihī al-Ḥanbalī* (d. 992/1584)

Although a disciple of al-Haythamī, Abū 'l-Sa'adat had occasion to hear Hadith from as many as ninety teachers of Makka, Ḥaḍramaūt and Zabīd including Abū'l-Ḥasan al-Bakrī (d. 952). He migrated to Aḥmadābād before the year 957/1550.³ In 963/1555, he moved to Sūrāt⁴ where he died in Jumādā I, 992/May, 1584.⁵

3. *Mīr Murtaḍā Sharīf al-Shīrāzī* (d. 974/1566)

He was a grandson of al-Sayyid Sharīf al-Jurjānī (d. 816). He studied Hadith with Ibn Hajar at Makka and obtained *al-Ijāza* from him. From Makka Murtaḍā came to the Deccan and thence, in 972/1562, to Akbarābād (Agrā). Here in the court of Emperor Akbar, he attained high position and 'employed himself in giving instructions in arts and sciences' until his death in 974/1566. He had Shī'a proclivities.⁶

4. *Mīr Kalān Muḥaddith al-Akbarābādī* (d. 983-1575)

Muḥammad Sa'īd b. Mawlānā Khawāja, commonly known as Mīr Kalān *Muḥaddith*, came to

1. *Nūr* pp. 350, 358.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 372-79; *Shadharāt*, vol. viii, pp 423-24.

3. *Nūr*, p. 409.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 256.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 407-09; *Shadharāt*, pp. 427-28.

6. *Badā'ūnī*, pp. 320-21=Haig, pp. 442-44; *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, vol. i, p. 640; *Akbar Nāma*, vol. ii, p. 278; *Tadhkira-i-'Ulamā'*, pp. 223-24.

Akbarābād in about 981/1573 and was appointed by Akbar the first tutor of Prince Salīm¹ (born Rabi' I, 977/August, 1569), afterwards Emperor Jahāngīr. Mir, Kalān was a grandson of Khawāja Kūhi, an eminent saint of Khurāsān, and acquired Hadīth literature at Shīrāz from Nasīm al-Dīn Mirak Shāh b. Jamāl al-Dīn *Muḥaddith*.² Prior to his migration to India, he was a Professor of Hadīth at Makka—hence his title *Shaykh al-Haram al-Makki*³—where amongst others Mullā 'Alī al-Qārī⁴ (d. 1014) and Ghadanfar b. Ja'far al-Nahrawālī (d. 1000) read the *Mishkāt al-Maṣābiḥ* with him⁵. He died at Akbarābād in Muḥarram, 983/April, 1575⁶.

1. Badā'ūnī, vol. ii, p. 170, also *Ma'thar al-Kirām*, p. 207 (sic) چوں در هند گشت اکبر بار شاه برای تعلیم شاهزاده گردید *Ma'thar* p. 208.

2. Jamāl al-Dīn, the famous author of the *Rawḍat al-Aḥbāb*, was a disciple of his uncle Aṣīl al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (d. 883). Ibrāhīm al-Kurdī, *al-Amam*, p. 69.

3. Ibid. ; 'Abd Allāh b. Sālīm al-Baṣrī, *Kitāb al-Imdad*, (Rasā'il al-Asānīd, part iii), p. 55 ; *Qaṭaf al-Thamar*, p. 28.

4. Basing his statement on the introduction of *Mirqāt fī Sharḥ Mishkāt* by Mullā 'Alī al-Qārī, Azād Bilgrāmī in his *Subḥat al-Marjān*, p. 67 and *Ma'thar al-Kirām*, p. 207, purports to say that along with other Indians, Mullā 'Alī al-Qārī read the *Mishkāt al-Maṣābiḥ* with Mir Kalān in India—a statement with which we do not concur. For, nowhere in the *Muqaddima* of his *Mirqāt* does 'Alī al-Qārī assert that he ever came to India and read Hadīth there. But reading between the lines of the pages of his *Muqaddima* what we gather is that he read the *Mishkāt* among others with Shaykh 'Atīya al-Sulami, 'Alī al-Muttaqi (d. 975) and Mir Kalān the last being called شيخ الحرم المكي on account of his long residence at Makka as a Professor—all of them were the Shuyūkh of Makka and were more or less contemporaries (cf. *Mirqāt*, Cairo, undated)—a fact that establishes that 'Alī al-Qārī read Hadīth with Mir Kalān at Makka and not in India as Azād would have us believe. In the light of what we have said above, we are unable to uphold the opinion of 'Allāma Sayyid Sulaymān Nadawī that Mullā 'Alī al-Qārī came to India from his home at Hirāt and read the *Mishkāt al-Maṣābiḥ* with Mir Kalān at Akbarābād since it is based on the authority of Azād Bilgrāmī (cf. *Ma'ārif*, vol. xxii, No. 4), pp. 266-67.

5. *Al-Amam*, loc. cit.

6. *Subḥat*, p. 67 ; *Ma'thār*, p. 207 ; *Abjad*, p. 904 ; *Ḥadā'iq*, p. 385 ; *Tadhkira-i-'Ulamā'*, pp. 230-31. But ac. to Badā'ūnī (p. 151=Haig, p. 211), 981 A. H. Bilgrāmī (cf. *Ma'ārif*, vol. xxii, No. 4), pp. 266-67.

Section II. Growth and development of the centres of Ḥadīth learning in India.

Although the transmission of Ḥadīth in India commenced in 820/1417, it did not make much headway, considering the small number of the Traditionists who migrated to India in the 9th century, until after the foundation in 886/1418 of the School of al-Sakhāwī in the Ḥaramayn.¹ Henceforth an era of regular migration of the Traditionists set in and continued till the close of the 10th century. The period of transmission that played such a vital part in the growth and development of the centres of Ḥadīth learning in India may, conveniently, be divided into three parts, viz., pre-Sakhāwī (820-86/1417-81), Sakhāwī (886-954/1481-1547) and post-Sakhāwī (954-92/1547-84) periods.

I. DECCAN

It was in the pre-Sakhāwī period that several *Muḥaddithūn* were found to have come to the Deccan. But as the country became inhospitable, no further migration of the Traditionists took place in the Sakhāwī period. The fact was that the dawn of the Sakhāwī period synchronized with the decay and downfall of the Bahmanī kingdom as a result of the murder in 886/1481 of Maḥmūd Gāwān, the able minister who could hold the hostile elements in check.² Although the House survived in name up to 934/1527, the Kingdom had already broken into five principalities, viz., the 'Ādilshāhī at Bijapur, the Nizāmshāhī at Aḥmadnagar, the Quṭbshāhī at Golkonda, the 'Imādshāhī at Berar and the Barīdshāhī at Bidar.³ The rulers of the first three which were, however, the major powers, adopted Shī'ism as their state

1. *Shadharāt*, vol. viii, pp. 15-16.

2. *Ency. of Islam*, vol. iii, p. 136.

3. *Cambridge History of India*, vol. iii, pp. 433, 425-26.

religion. As to the small Sunnī Kingdoms of Bidar and Berār, the former was absorbed by Bijapur in 1028/1619 and the latter by Aḥmadnagar in 982/1574.¹ Thus the extinction of the Bahmanī rule eventually meant the end of the Sunnī regime of the Deccan, with which was inextricably bound up the growth and expansion of Ḥadīth literature there. After all, the *Sunna* was pre-eminently the heritage of the Sunnīs.

The Shī'a regime that was now installed in the Deccan was not on the whole quite congenial to the religion and culture of the Sunnīs who, however, formed the bulk of the population of the country. Encouraged by the growing power of Shāh Ismā'il (905-30/1499-1523) of Irān, the champion of Shī'ites, the Shī'a rulers of the Deccan pushed up the cause of Shī'ism to the great detriment of the Sunnīs and what they stood for.² The anti-Sunnī movement of the Shī'ites was reflected in their replacement of the Sunnī formula of al-Adhān by a Shī'ite one.³ Not only that. Even *al-Tabarrī*, or condemning Iḥādrat Abū Bakr and 'Umar, also was introduced into the Friday *Khutba* or sermons.⁴ The Shī'a rulers persecuted the Sunnī scholars by confiscating their properties and benefices granted to them by the Bahmanīs. To quote a few instances, we have it on the authority of Firishta that Burhān Nizām Shāh of Aḥmadnagar withdrew from the Sunnī 'Ulamā' all allowances—*wazā'if*—and gave them away to the Shī'a 'Ulamā'.⁵ Again, we have it on the same authority that as soon as the 'Adil Shāhī dynasty came to power, the descendants of Gisū Darāz had to lose their lands which had been previously granted to them by Aḥmad

1. Ibid., p. 433.

2. Firishta, vol. ii, pp. 18-19, 21, 32, 61-62, 148-50.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid., p. 229, (sic) سب الشيعيين

5. Ibid., p. 151.

Shāh Bahmanī I¹. Circumstanced as the Sunnīs were then their scholars could not have been expected to carry on their cultural activities unhampered. The anti-Sunnite feeling of the Shī'ites had its repercussion also on the cultivation of Hadīth literature in the Deccan. For, the bulk of the foreign *Muḥaddithūn* came to India in the Sakhāwī and the post-Sakhāwī periods when the Deccan had been under the domination of Shī'ites who, as we have just seen, were hostile to the Sunni 'Ulamā'. In the sequel, the Traditionists did not proceed to the Deccan and, instead, settled down in Gujarāt and Northern India. Thus the history of Hadīth literature in Sind repeated itself in the Deccan with this difference that whereas the Sunnī regime of the former lasted for over two hundred and fifty years so that it was possible for it to turn out a batch of Traditionists,² that of the latter lasted for only about a century and a half so that it could not render as much service to the promotion of Hadīth learning as did its counterpart in Sind.

Before we close down the discussion of Hadīth literature in the Deccan, it will be worth our while to take stock of the contribution the Bahmanīs made to the cultivation of the Science.

Sultān Maḥmūd Shāh I (780-99/1378-97) was the first Indian Prince who extended patronage to the Traditionists. He provided for them facilities to work for the cause of Hadīth literature. Thus, the big cities of the Deccan like Gulbarga, Bidar, Dawlatābād, Ilichpūr, Jiwul, and Dabul (Dabhol) became centres of their activities.³ During the reign of his successor, Fīrūz Shāh (803-25/1397-1442), at Gulbarga a group of scholars were found ransacking the *Ṣaḥīḥān* and the

1. Ibid., vol. i, pp. 319-20.

2. Supra, pp. 33 Seq.

3. Firishta, vol. i, p. 302.

Mishkāṭ al-Maṣābiḥ with a view to issuing *fatwa* on the question of *al-Mut'a*.¹ From this incident, we can gather that standard works on Ḥadīth literature were not merely existing in the Deccan, but were also in great demand—a state of things which was unknown to the contemporary Northern India. A devoted disciple of Giṣū Darāz, Sulṭān Aḥmad Shāh Bahmanī I (825-838/1422-36) earned the name of *Walī Bahmanī*, or the Saint Bahmanī by virtue of his strict observance of the *Sunna* of the Prophet. Over and above his knowledge of Fiqh and Kalām, he was quite conversant with Ḥadīth literature.² Further, in 887/1473 a copy of the *Mishkāṭ al-Maṣābiḥ* was transcribed at Bidar by Abū Sa'īd b. Ḥusayn, a scholar-merchant, who made a present of the volume to Sulṭān Maḥmūd II. (887-924/1482-1518)³ probably on the occasion of the latter's accession to the throne.

Of the seven *Muḥaddithun* who came to India in the pre-Sakhāwī period, as many as four finally settled down in the Deccan. This was undoubtedly due to the encouragement they must have received from the Bahmanī Sulṭāns. The migration of al-Damāmīnī and Ibn Fahd from Gujarāt to the Deccan⁴ further shows that as patrons of the Traditionists, the Bahmanīs surpassed the Muẓaffar Shāhī Sulṭāns. Indeed, the history of Ḥadīth literature in the Deccan would have been more glorious, if the Bahmanīs could retain their hold longer.

Our survey of the none-too-bright history of Ḥadīth literature in the Deccan is bound to remain incomplete unless and until we touch upon the peculiar contribution Bijāpūr made in this behalf.

1. Ibid, p. 307.

2. Ibid., p. 323 ; *Zahīr al-Dīn*, pp. 122, 124.

3. This MS. is in possession of the Ḥabībganj Library (Ma' ārif, vol. xi, No. 2, p. 99).

4. Supra, pp. 87, 89-90.

Of the eight rulers of the House of 'Ādil Shāh, Ibrāhīm I (941-65/1534-57) and Ibrāhīm II (988-1037/1580-1627) were Sunnīs¹; the rest were Shī'as. It was Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II., known popularly as Nawras,² who brought about a reconciliation between his Shī'a and Sunni subjects by entering in the *Khutba* the names of all the four Khulafā' Rāshidīn along with the Imāms.³ As a Muslim, Ibrāhīm was a strict observer of the *Sunna*. No better proof of his great regard for the Prophet and his Companions can there be than his decoration of grand mosque at Bijapur with inscriptions of Aḥādīth drawn from the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī and the *Mishkāt al-Maṣābiḥ*, bearing among others, on the excellences of the 'Asharat al-Mubashsharat.⁴ To enshrine the sacred relic of the Prophet,⁵ Ibrāhīm raised a famous construction known as Āthār Sharīf or Āthār Maḥal in which arrangements were also made for the teaching of Islamic learning. This institution was later developed by his son and successor Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh (1037-68/1627-57) into two sister *Madrasahs* for imparting lessons on Ḥadīth, Fiqh and other subjects.⁶ A bibliophile, Ibrāhīm II was the real founder of the Royal Library of Bījāpūr, a treasure-house of the books on Islamology and a worthy monument of the 'Ādil Shāhī dynasty.⁷ Apart from the collections of Ibrāhīm and his successors, the Library was supplemented with books found at Asirgarh and Bidar when these places were conquered by Ibrāhīm in

1. Firishṭa, vol. ii, p. 56; Bashīr Aḥmad, *Wāqī 'āt-i-Mamlakat-i-Bījāpūr* (Agrā, 1915), vol. i, pp. 99, 222.

2. Bashīr Aḥmad, p. 209; Ibrāhīm Zubairī, *Basāṭīn al-Salāṭīn* quoted in Bānkīpūr Catalogue, v (1), p. 54.

3. Firishṭa, vol. ii, p. 66.

4. Bashīr Aḥmad, *op. cit.* vol. ii, pp. 25, 28-31.

5. A moustache. For details of its procurement, *vide* Bashīr Aḥmad, vol. i, p. 207, vol. ii, pp. 34 seq.

6. *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 274; vol. ii, p. 34; Indian Historical Records Commission, Proceedings, vol. xii (1940-41), p. 125.

7. The remnant of the works of this library has been removed to, and preserved in the Library of the India Office (Loth, Catalogue, Preface, v).

1004/1595 and 1028/1618 respectively.¹ As a matter of fact, from the inscriptions borne by the MSS. preserved in the libraries of India Office² and Ḥabībganj,³ it is evident that the MSS. found their way to the Bijāpūr Library from Muḥammadābād-Bidar upon the latter's conquest by Ibrāhīm in 1028/1618. That the books of Bidar, the capital of the Bahmanis till 934/1527, were bequeathed to the Barīd Shāhīs by the Bahmanī regime, can be gathered from the fact that among books entering the Bijāpūr Library from Bidar also included some of those works which had previously belonged to Maḥmūd Gāwān as the seal of Malik a-Tujjār⁴ or Maḥmūd Khawāja Jahān clearly indicated.⁵ What further strengthens our conclusion is the lack of evidence to show that the Barīd Shāhīs had ever established a library at Bidar.

The following works on Ḥadīth belonging to the 'Ādil Shāhī Library at Bijāpūr have come down to us as a reminiscent of the great interest Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II and his son Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh evinced for the cause of Ḥadīth literature in Bijāpūr:

(1) A copy of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Al-Bukhārī, ornamented, bearing an inscription to the effect that the MS entered the library of Ibrāhīm II in 1028/1618 as a part of spoils from the conquest of Muḥammadābād-Bidar.⁶

(2) A third volume of Ibn Hajar's *Fath al-Bārī*, beginning from the chapter on *Istisqā'* and ending with *al-Du'a' 'inda al-Jumratain*, having a seal bearing the name of Nawras Ibrāhīm (Ibrāhīm II).⁷

1. For Asīrgarh, see Firishṭa, vol. ii, p. 277, and for Bidar, *Cambridge History*, vol. III, p. 433.

2. Loth, Nos. 211, 299, 426, 994, 995.

3. Ma'ārif, vol. XL No. 2, pp. 98-99.

4. I.e., Chief of the Merchants, a title of Maḥmūd Gāwān (*Cambridge Hist.* vol. iii, p. 396; *Ency. of Islām*, vol. ii, p. 135).

5. Loth, Nos. 211, 426, 967, 994.

6. Ḥabībganj Library (Ma'ārif, vol. XL, No. 2, pp. 98-99).

7. Oriental Library, Bankipur, Catalogue, vol. V, Part I, No. 165.

(3) Al-Nawawī's *Ḥilyat al-Abrār* dated 1033, i.e., the collection of Ibrāhīm II.¹

(4) A copy of the *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, bearing a seal of Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh I (1037-68 A.H.), dated 1059.²

(5) Al-Nawawī's *Riyāḍ al-Ṣāliḥīn* with a seal of Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh, dated 1059.³

(6) *Kitāb al-Iyḍāḥ bi Takmilat Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ* by Ibn Hajar al-'Asqalānī, with a seal of Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh, dated 1046.⁴

(7) A copy of Al-Baghawī's *Maṣābīḥ al-Sunna*, bearing a signature of Muḥammad 'Ādil Shāh.⁵

(8) A complete copy of the *Mishkāṭ al-Maṣābīḥ* from Kitāb al-Nikāḥ, dated 1085. An inscription on the second volume says that the copy was transcribed by Jalāl al-Dīn b. 'Alī, a student at the Mausoleum of Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II.⁶

Besides the above-mentioned works which bear some inscription or other, the Bijāpūr Library had also a number of unsealed and undated Hadith works that are now available in the India Office Library, London.⁷

II. GUJARĀT

True, by 818/1415 the reputation of the Muẓaffar-shāhī rulers as patrons of Hadīth reached beyond the confines of India as indicated by al-Damāmīnī's dedication at Zabīd of his commentary on the *Ṣaḥīḥ al-*

1. Loth, India Office Library, No. 340.

2. Ibid., No. 120.

3. Ibid., No. 168.

4. Ibid., No. 198.

5. Ibid., No. 149.

6. Ibid., Nos. 152-53.

7. Cf. Loth, Preface, V-VI, Nos. 120-23, 125-26, 135-36, 151, 158, 164, 185, 188, 196 and 200.

Bukhārī to Aḥmad Shāh I (814-43/1411-43).¹ Nevertheless, the study of Ḥadīth in Gujarāt did not make much progress in the pre-Sakhāwī period when the scholars were devoted chiefly to Arabic literature and this elicited from the pen of al-Damāmīnī commentaries on several standard works on Arabic grammar.²

On the dissolution of the Sunnī regime in the Deccan early in the Sakhāwī period, Gujarāt became the natural resort, thanks to the munificence of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Begarhā I (863-917/1458-1511), not only of the foreign Muḥaddithūn, but presumably also of those from the neighbouring Shī'a kingdoms. By conferring upon Wajih al-Dīn al-Mālikī the title of *Malik al-Muḥaddithīn*,³ Maḥmūd publicly recognized the status of the Traditionists of his kingdom as a class. Henceforth, with the progress of the teaching of Ḥadīth at different centres, such as Aḥmadābād, Cambay, Mahā'im, Sūrat and Naharwāla, standard works on the subject were gradually being imported into Gujarāt. How quickly books were procured from the outside world in those days may be gathered from this fact that the *Fath al-Bārī* which entered in al-Yaman only in 901/1495 made its way to Gujarāt as early as 918/1514 if not earlier. Further, works of transcribing and also translating popular Ḥadīth collections into Persian were undertaken. To quote a few instances, the State Library of Rāmpūr has a MS of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim with a seal of Sulṭān Maḥmūd I affixed on it,⁴ while a Persian translation of the *Ḥiṣn Ḥaṣīn* dedicated to this Sulṭān has been preserved in the Library of the India Office.⁵

Maḥmūd's successor Muẓaffar Shāh II (917-32/1511-25), who was himself a Traditionist, granted the

1. Supra, p. 87.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ma'ārif, vol. XXVI. No. 2, pp. 126 seq.

5. Infra, p. 121.

fief of Broach to Mukhāṭib 'Alī Khān in appreciation of the latter's presenting to him a copy of the *Fath al-Bārī*¹ an act that speaks a volume about his deep regard for Apostolic Traditions.

The pursuit of Ḥadīth literature in Gujarāt had no smooth sailing either. As a matter of fact, Humāyūn's invasion of the country in 941-42/1534-35 during the reign of Sulṭān Bahādūr Shāh' (932-43/1526-37) lasting for 13 long months² disturbed the serene literary life in Gujarāt. In the sequel, the leading Muḥaddithūn like 'Alī al-Muttaqī al-Burhānpūri (d. 975), 'Abd Allāh al-Sindī (d. 993) and others migrated to the Hijāz.³ 'Abd al-Awwal al-Ḥusaynī (d. 968), however, stayed on and continued his researches at Aḥmadābād. Sulṭān Maḥmūd the Third's (944-61/1537-53) liberality and patronage was responsible for rehabilitating Gujarāt with Traditionists many of whom then came to settle there from al-Hijāz. It was at the invitation of Sulṭān Maḥmūd that 'Alī al-Muttaqī twice sojourned at Aḥmadābād where on these occasions he imparted lessons on Ḥadīth literature. Further, Maḥmūd supported the scholars of the Haramayn with stipends, and built a Madrasa at Makka⁴ evidently for the purpose of Ḥadīth learning. On the assassination of both this benevolent prince and his wise councillor Aṣaf Khān in 961/1553, the Muẓaffarshāhī kingdom gradually sank down and was ultimately annexed by Emperor Akbar in 980/1572. So far as the culture of Ḥadīth literature was concerned, the breakdown of the Muẓaffarshāhī power was a great loss to Gujarāt inasmuch as the great and ceaseless activities of the Muḥaddithūn declined so that we have very few noted Traditionists from Gujarāt after the tenth century A.H.

1. Supra, p. 94.

2. Ulughkhānī, vol. I, p. 260 also Index, LI.

3. Ibid.

4. Ulughkhānī, vol. I, p. 313.

III. MALWA

Shādiābād-Mandū,¹ the capital of Mālwa, became a centre of Ḥadīth learning during the reign of Maḥmūd Khaljī (839-74/1435-69) who was a patron of arts and letters.² Two disciples of al-Sakhāwī, noticed before, came to settle here. Of the products of this place, the names of Shaykh al-Muḥaddithin Sa'd Allāh al-Mandūwī³ (d. 902) and Mawlānā 'Alīm al-Dīn al-Mandūwī⁴ have been preserved for us. There can be no better expression of Maḥmūd's love for Ḥadīth than his establishment of a *Madrasa* with a Chair for Ḥadīth literature under the Traditionist Shams al-Dīn al-Bukhārī at the Bāb Umm Iḥānī in Makka.⁵

IV. KHANDISH

Burhānpūr, the seat of the Fārūqī dynasty of Khandesh owed its foundation to Naṣīr Khān al-Fārūqī who raised the principality 'to a high position in the literary world'. His Madrasa at Burhānpūr⁶ which continued to flourish for two centuries or thereabout, must have contributed to the diffusion of Ḥadīth learning, as will be seen presently.⁷

V. SIND

After a lapse of five hundred years, the study of Ḥadīth in Sind was revived in the first half of the tenth century by Makhdūm 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Abharī,⁸ a Traditionist who having migrated in 918/1512 from Hirāt on account of the oppression of the Ṣafawī

1. Now in Dhar State, Central India, situated in 22.21° N and 75.26° E, 22 miles from Dhar town (Imperial Gazetteer of India, vol. XVII, p. 171).

2. Firishta, vol. I, p. 243; Law op. cit. pp. 96-97).

3. Firishta, p. 257.

4. *Nuzha*, vol. IV.

5. Sakhāwī, vol. X, p. 148.

6. Law, pp. 99, 259.

7. Infra, p. 129; and s.v. Shaykh Ṭāhir b. Yūsuf; 'Uthmān al-Sindī.

8. Abhar lay in the province of Jibāl (Le Strange, pp. 221-22).

rulers of Persia settled down at Kāhān, a small township situated then in Sind¹ but now forming a part of modern Balūchistān. Before his migration to India, 'Abd al-'Azīz had been a Professor of the Madrasa-i-Mirzā 'Ufī, the Madrasa-i-Sultāniyya and the Khānqa-i-Ikhlāṣiyya at Hirāt.² As a Traditionist, he wrote at the instance of the Prince Nizām al-Dīn 'Alī Sher³ (d. 906), who was a great patron of letters at Hirāt, a commentary on the *Mishkāt al-Maṣābiḥ* entitled *al-Minhāj al-Mishkāt* which has been noticed by Ḥājī Khalīfa⁴ and a part of which was preserved in the library of Mir Ma'ṣūm Bhakkārī (d. 1019), the author of *Tārīkh-i-Sind*.⁵

For close upon a decade 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Abharī lectured at Kāhān on Hadīth and other branches of Islamic learning. He died there in 928/1523, leaving behind him his two accomplished sons, Mawlānās Athir al-Dīn and Muḥammad.⁶

VI. LAHORE

Lahore became an important centre of Hadīth learning under Mawlānā Muḥammad (circ. 900-1000), the *Muftī* and 'one of the most respected teachers' of the city, who taught for many years the *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* and the *Mishkāt al-Maṣābiḥ* to a number of pupils of whom some had been 'the most learned men' of their time. At every concluding lecture on the aforesaid works, the Mawlānā used to treat his audience to *Bughrakhānīs*⁷ (of which our *Bakur-*

1. Mir Ma'ṣūm, *Tārīkh-i-Sind*, ed. Da'ūdpoṭā (Poona 1938), p. 76 ; Elliot, vol. I, p. 235.

2. *Nuzha*, Vol. IV, s. v. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Abharī.

3. For 'Alī Sher, Rieu, *Persian Catalogue*, vol. I, 366a.

4. *Kashf al-Zunūn*, ed. Fluegel, V, 503.

5. Page 77.

6. *Tārīkh-i-Sind*, p. 76. Elliot, vol. I, p. 235, has Aṣīl al-Dīn.

7. A dish invented by Bughra, king of Khurāsān. It consists of quadrangular section of paste, dressed with gravy or milk (Haig, p. 215, n. 4).

khānī may be the corrupted form who knows ?) and sweetmeats.¹

VII. JHANSI & KALPI

Sayyid Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, a Traditionist of Baghdād, came to India in about the middle of the 10th century and started Ḥadīth classes first at Jhānsī and then at Kālpī on the bank of the Jumna. His reputation as a Traditionist must have spread far and wide as is evident from the fact that Shaykh (afterwards Makhdūm) Nizām al-Dīn Bihkāri (d. 981) came all the way to Jhānsī from Kākūrī (15 miles to the N. of Lucknow) to sit at his feet. The books on which Muḥammad lectured comprised of the *Ma'alim al-Tanzil*, the *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, the *Sunan* of Abū Dāwūd and the *Jāmi' al-Uṣūl*.²

VIII. AGRA

In the 10th century, Agrā could boast of as many as three institutions for imparting Ḥadīth learning, viz., (i) the Madrasa of Rafī' al-Dīn al-Ṣafawī (d. 954), (ii) the Madrasa of Ḥājī Ibrāhīm al-Muḥaddith al-Akbarābādī (d. 1010), and (iii) the Madrasa of Sayyid Shāh Mīr (d. circ. 1000).

(i) The Madrasa of al-Ṣafawī. The house of Rafī' al-Dīn al-Ṣafawī in the heart of Agrā became a seat of Ḥadīth learning as shown above.³ Here, on his death, his disciple Abū 'l-Faṭḥ al-Khurāsānī al-Thanesrī (d. circ. 1004) lectured on Ḥadīth for about fifty years. 'Many able and ready scholars' like 'Abd al-Qādir al-Badā'ūnī (d. 1004), the famous author of the *Muntakhab ut-Tawārīkh* and Kamāl al-Dīn

1. Badā'ūnī, p. 154 = Haig, p. 215.

2. *Tadhkira-i-Mashāhīr-i-Kākhūrī*, p. 447; *Nuzha*, IV, s.v. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm al-Baghdādī.

3. *Supra*, pp. 96-97.

Husayn al-Shirāzī (d. 1020) 'shared the benefit of being taught by this great man.'¹

(ii) The Madrasa of Hājī Ibrāhīm. Hājī Ibrāhīm al-Muḥaddith al-Akbarābādī learnt Hadīth in Arabia and was 'occupied in teaching divinity (علوم دینی) and especially the traditions of the Prophet' at Agrā. While attending the 'Ibādathkhāna by the orders of Akbar, he would not observe the usual etiquette and ceremonies connected with it, traditionist that he was.²

(iii) The Madrasa of Shāh Mīr. This Madrasa stood in the locality of Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Muftī on the eastern side of the Jumna.³ Sayyid Shāh Mīr who was a nephew (برادر زادہ) of al-Ṣafawī⁴ lectured on the *Mashāriq al-Anwār*.⁵

IX LUCKNOW

Lucknow figured as a seat of Hadīth learning in the second half of the 10th century on the arrival at its suberb of Shaykh Diyā' al-Dīn, a Madinian Traditionist. For over four years he taught Hadīth literature to a host of pupils, including our Makhdūm Bihkāri who read with him the *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* and the *Jāmi' al-Uṣūl*. He died at Kākūrī probably towards the close of the 10th century.⁶

X. JAWNPUR

The seat of the Sharqī Sulṭanate, Jawnpūr 'be-

1. Badā'ūnī, pp. 126, 129=Haig, pp. 187, 187-88; T. 'Ulamā', p. 6; Ma'ārif, Vol. XXII No. 4, pp. 251-59.

2. Badā'ūnī, p. 139=Haig, p. 196; T. 'Ulamā', p. 7; Ma'ārif, p. 265-66.

3. Haig, p. 78, n. 2.

4. Badā'ūnī, p. 109=Haig, p. 162.

5. Ibid pp. 119-20=174-77.

6. *Tadhkira-i-Mashāhir-i-Kākūrī*; *Nuzha*, Vol. IV, s.v. Diyā' al-Dīn.

came a famous University city' and far outshone Delhi of the time.¹ The situation here so far as the subjects of study were concerned had been analogous with that of Gujarāt at the pre-Sakhāwī period (820-86/1417-81) in that Hadith occupied a minor place in the curriculum. To substantiate this, we may quote the works of the *Malik al-'Ulamā'* Qādī Shihāb al-Dīn al-Dawlatābādī (d.849), which were mainly on Jurisprudence and Arabic literature²—non-Hadith works as that. Gujarāt, however, had the advantage, by reason of its geographical position, of having the Science introduced by foreign Muḥaddithūn, which Jawnpūr had not. As a result, no appreciable activity was noticed until the 10th century when, however, Hadith was likely to have been introduced here at Jawnpūr as the title of *Zubdat al-Muḥaddithin* borne by certain local scholars indicated.³ Possibly Hadith was transmitted to the Sharqī Sultānate either from some Indian centres mentioned above or direct from Arabia. Incidentally, we meet a scholar from Jawnpūr, Ḥafīẓ Muḥaddhab al-Jānfūrī al-Hindī hearing Hadith from al-Sakhāwī (d.902) at Makka,⁴ but the reference is too meagre to establish the real connecting link.

XI. BIHĀR

Until the close of the 9th century, the Ṣufī scholars of Manir were the torch-bearers of Hadith in Bihār.⁵ Then the centre of Hadith learning moved away to Fulwārī Sharīf. Although Hadith had been introduced into the Khānqa of Fulwārī in the 8th century by Sayyid Minhāj al-Dīn al-Rāstī, a disciple of Sharaf al-Dīn al-Manirī,⁶ no appreciable progress in

1. Law, pp. 99-100, 259.

2. Brockelmann, Sup., i, p. 309.

3. Ma'ārif, Vol. XXV, No. 5, p. 347.

4. Sakhāwī, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 87.

5. Supra, pp. 66 seq.

6. Ma'ārif, Vol. XXIII, No. 5, p. 361.

its study seems to have been made till the advent here, in the 10th century, of Sayyid Yāsīn, a nephew of Rafī' al-Dīn al-Ṣafawī,¹ who acquired the Science at Gujarāt from Wajīh al-Dīn al-'Alawī (d.999) and also from some eminent Traditionists of al-Hijāz.² Thanks to the labour of Sayyid Yāsīn, the Khānqa turned into a seat of Ḥadīth learning as is manifested in the *sanad* handed down to Shaykh 'Atīq b. 'Abd al-Samī' from Sayyid Yāsīn through the intermediary of three successive Fulwārī *Muḥaddithūn*, viz., 'Abd al-Muqtadir, his father, 'Abd al-Nabī and 'Abd al-Razzāq. It is worth recording in this connection that the last two Traditionists, namely, 'Abd al-Nabī and 'Abd al-Razzāq won for themselves the distinctions of *Shaykh al-Waqt* and *Hāfiẓ al-Waqt* respectively on account of their erudition in Ḥadīth literature, and that 'Atīq was also a pupil of Nūr al-Ḥaqq b. 'Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Dihlawī (d. 1070).³

XII. BENGAL

'Alā' al-Dīn Husayn Shāh b. Sayyid Ashraf al-Makki, the King of Bengāl (900-24/1493-1518),⁴ whose memory has been associated as the earliest promoter of Bengali language and literature,⁵ was also responsible for the great advance, the study of the Qur'ān and al-Ḥadīth made in his dominion. On his accession to the throne of Bengal, in 905/1499, Husayn Shāh invited scholars from far and near to come and settle down in his Kingdom and under his liberal reign. By Ramaḍān 1, 907/March, 1502, he erected an 'excellent Madrasah' at Gurra-i-Shahīd in Gaur (now in the

1. Yāsīn was a cousin (بنی اعمام) of Shāh Mīr (Badā'ūnī, p. 120), the nephew of al-Ṣafawī (Ibid., p. 109-Haig, p. 162).

2. Ibid., p. 120-1=p. 166-67.

3. Ma'ārif, Vol. XXIII, No. 5, p. 333.

4. Cambridge Hist. of India, Vol. III, pp. 270-72.

5. Dinesh Chandra Sen, *History of Bengālī Literature* (Calcutta, 1911), pp. 12-14, 222.

district of Malda) 'for the teaching of the sciences of religion.' He also 'founded a College' at Panduwa in Malda as a memorial to the famous saint Nūr Qutb-i-'Ālam and settled a grant of land for its support.¹ That Hadīth formed an integral part of the curricula in these institutions may be gathered from the presence, at the capital of Ikdālā, of scholars as also of Hadīth compilations such as the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī. As a patron of Apostolic Traditions, Husayn Shāh ranked himself with the contemporary rulers of Gujarāt. At his instance, Muḥammad b. Yazdān Bakhsh, famous as Khawājgī Shirwānī,² transcribed in 911/1503 for 'the Royal Treasury' at Ikdālā the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī in three volumes—which in full is now a precious possession of the Oriental Library of Bānkīpūr.³

(i) Sunārgāon. After the Hanbalite Abū Taw'ama (d. circ. 700³), Sunārgāon rose into prominence as a centre of learning during the rule of the Sādat (900-45/1493-1538). As a headquarter of Eastern Bengal, it was a thriving town with 'Ulamā' and seats of Islamic learning. Inscriptions on mosques and mausoleums here point to the existence not only of scholars but also of Traditionists during the period under review. As a matter of fact, one mosque had been built by a leading Traditionist and jurist (*Qudwat al-Fuqahā' wa' l-Muḥaddithīn*), Taqī al-Dīn b. 'Ayn al-Dīn in 929/1522 at the time of Naṣrat b. Husayn Shāh (924-39/1518-33).⁶ So, we may safely presume that during the rule of the Sādat, the teaching of Hadīth might have been in vogue at Sunārgāon.

1. Law, p. 110, n. 3; Ravenshaw, *Gour* (London, 1878), p. 80; Abū 'l-Ḥasanāt, op. cit., pp. 54-55.

2. Law, 109; Stewart, *History of Bengal* (London, 1813), p. 113.

3. He was a native of Shirwān in Adharbyjān (Le Strange, p. 159).

4. Vol. V, part i, Nos. 130-2.

5. *Supra*, p. 53.

6. Ma'ārif, Vol. XXXIII, No. 2, pp. 118-124, art. **بنگال میں علم حدیث** by Ḥakīm Ḥabībūr Raḥmān of Dacca.

CHAPTER V

INDIAN TRADITIONISTS

THE ADVENT of the Muḥaddithūn in India during the period extending over 820-992/1417-1584, gave a fillip to the culture and cultivation of Ḥadīth literature in this country. As a result, ardent and earnest learners undertook journies in quest of Ḥadīth learning—a state of things reminiscent of *al-Rihla fi Talab al-'Ilm* so common a feature among *Tālib al-'Ilm* of olden days. At the outset, the journey was confined to India, but ere long as interest in al-Ḥadīth grew wider, a tendency to acquire higher studies under distinguished Traditionists in the Ḥaramayn developed involving among other hardships the hazards of sea voyage in those days of sailing ships. Nothing could damp the spirits of the seekers after knowledge of Apostolic Traditions, and almost all our outstanding Traditionists beginning from 'Abd al-Awwal al-Ḥusaynī (d. 968) down to Shāh Walī Allāh al-Dihlawī (d. 1172) had had to undergo the ordeal in their student career.

The first Indian student of this epoch who sailed for Arabia in quest of Ḥadīth learning was Jamāl Allāh of Gulbarga. He went to Makka in 845/1441 with his father Khawāja Shams al-Dīn, and learnt the Science from distinguished Makkan Traditionists, *viz.*, Taqī al-Dīn b. Fahd, Zayn al-Dīn al-Amīūṭī, Abū 'l-Faṭḥ al-Marāghī and Aḥmad al-Wāsiṭī. He died at Makka on Rabi' I 29, 907/October, 1501.¹

Jamāl Allāh was followed by many others as would be evident from the following list of Indian

1. Ibn Fahd, *Mu'jam* (MS. Bankipur, No. 2429). fol 261a; al-Daw' al-Lāmi', Vol. IX, p. 151.

students who read Ḥadīth in the Ḥaramayn under Shams al-Dīn al-Sakhāwī (d. 902).

1. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Awadī al-Hindī al-Ḥanafī, a keen student of al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, whom al-Sakhāwī granted a general *Ijāza*. (*Ijāza Ḥafila*).¹
2. Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Hindī.²
3. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Hindī.³
4. Al-Ḥafīz b. Muḥaddhab al-Jānfūrī (Jawn-pūrī).⁴
5. Ḥafīz b. Ilyās al-Hindī.⁵
6. Zāhid b. 'Arif b. Jalāl al-Lakhnawī al-Hindī. He read out to al-Sakhāwī the *Arba'īn* of al-Nawawī at Makka in Ramaḍān, 894/1489.⁶
7. 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh al-Kanbāyatī.⁷
8. 'Umar b. Bahā' al-Dīn al-Kanbāyatī.⁸
9. Qāsim b. Dāwūd al-Aḥmadābādī. He read the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī along with his brother Rājīḥ (q.v.).⁹
10. Muqbil al-Hindī: he is stated to have read profusely with al-Sakhāwī.¹⁰
11. Mas'ūd b. Aḥmad al-Kanbāyatī: he read with al-Sakhāwī at al-Madīna.¹¹
12. Ni'm Allāh b. Ni'mat Allāh al-Kulbarjī (*i.e.*, of Gulbarga) *Nazīl Makka*.¹²

1. 'Al-Daw', vol. i, p. 208.
2. Ibid., vol. ii, p. 44.
3. Ibid., p. 71.
4. Ibid., vol. iii, p. 87.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid., p. 232.
7. Ibid., vol. v, p. 254.
8. Ibid., vol. vi, p. 145.
9. Ibid., p. 180.
10. Ibid., vol. x, p. 168.
11. Ibid., p. 156.
12. Ibid., p. 203.

13. 'Aṭa' Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Muḥammadābādī. He heard *Musalsal* Traditions from al-Sakhāwī.¹
14. Abū Bakr b. 'Alī b. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Dihlawī. (d. 873).²
15. Rājih b. Dāwūd al-Aḥmadābādī. He was born at Aḥmadābād in 871/1466 and became a master of *Ma'qūlat* and Arabic literature by 899/1493. Accompanied by his uncle Sulaymān³ and his brother Qāsim, he met al-Sakhāwī at Makka in 899 A.H., and read out to him (*qara' 'alaihi*) the major part of al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, al-Nawawī's *Arba'in* and also had lessons on al-Sakhāwī's works such as '*Umda*' and *Sharḥ al-Taqrīb li 'l-Nawawī*. Al-Sakhāwī gave him a general *Ijāza* wherein he paid high tribute for his mastery over Islamic learning.⁵

Although the *Hajj* might have been a great factor in attracting some of the above students to the Ḥaramayn where they did avail themselves of the opportunity to listen to the lecturers of al-Sakhāwī, the fact remains that a new era for Hadīth learning had been opened, by the close of the 9th century, not only in the coastal places of West and South India, but also in the up-country centres as would the *nisbas*⁶ indicate; so that some of the above-mentioned students might have been primarily actuated to go to al-Hijāz for the sake of acquiring knowledge of al-Ḥadīth.

1. Ibid., vol. v, p. 148.

2. Al-Daw', vol. xi, p. 61.

3. Ibid., vol. iii, p. 216.

4. Full title of the work : *عمدة القارى والسامع فى ختم الصحيح النجام* : *Shadhārāt*, vol., viii, p. 16.

5. Al-Daw', vol. iii, p. 222; *Tadhkira-i-'Ulamā'*, p. 62; *Yād-i-Ayyām*, p. 54.

6. I.e., al-Awadī (No. 2), al-Jawnpūrī (No. 4), al-Lakhnawī (No. 6) and al-Dihlawī (No. 14).

The tenth century of Hijra was a landmark so far as the services the Indian Musalmans rendered for the cause of Hadith literature are concerned. Two groups of students applied themselves to this noble task. The first group included those students who permanently migrated to Arabia with a view to pursuing the study of al-Hadith within the sacred precincts of the Haramayn as also coming in contact with eminent Traditionists and standard works over there. The second group who were either local products, or those who having acquired proficiency in Science of Hadith from Arabia, devoted themselves in India proper to teaching Hadith and writing books on it. Thus the Indian Traditionists kept up the torch of Hadith learning burning in India and Arabia simultaneously. And this they did until the foundation of the Dār al-'Ulūm at Deoband and the Mazāhir al-'Ulūm in Sahāranpūr at the end of the 13th century—a period that covers well over two centuries. The Traditionists of the first group will be noticed together with their works in the second part of our thesis. As for those of the second, we are going to discuss here below:

Section I. (875-1030/1470-1621)

TRADITIONISTS THAT FLOURISHED FROM THE MIDDLE OF THE 9TH DOWN TO THE MIDDLE OF THE 11TH CENTURY AND THAT COULD NOT CLAIM TO HAVE FOUNDED ANY RECOGNIZED SCHOOL OF THEIR OWN:

1. *Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad al-Bahrūjī*
(d. circ 915/1509)

Abū Bakr was a Traditionist of Broach in Gujarāt. He flourished during the reign of Sultān Maḥmūd Shah I (863-917/1459-1511) of Gujarāt. He died probably in the first quarter of the 10 century A.H. His biographical notice is not available.¹

1. Hermann Ethe, *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office* (Oxford, 1903), Vol. I, No. 2641.

(i) *Tarjuma-i-Ḥiṣn Ḥasīn* (Ethe, India Office, No. 2641; Bankipur, XVI, No. 1418): a Persian translation with explanatory notes of al-Jazarī's (d. 833) *Ḥiṣn Ḥasīn*, a collection of Traditions with special reference to prayers (*ad'iya*) of the Prophet. The author compiled the present work for Sulṭān Maḥmūd Shāh I of Gujarāt and completed it on Dhū 'l-Ḥijja 24, 910/May, 1505.

(ii) '*Ayn al-Wafā Tarjuma-i-Shifā*' (Aṣafiyya, I, 682, No. 487): a Persian translation of the *Shifā* of al-Qāḍī 'Iyād.

2. *Mir Sayyid 'Abd al-Awwal al-Ḥusaynī al-Zaidpūrī* (d. 968/1560)

'Abd al-Awwal was a native of the Deccan where his forefathers who had originally belonged to Zaidpūr, a village near Jawnpūr, migrated. He studied Ḥadīth under his grandfather 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī, a pupil of al-Ḥusain al-Faṭḥī who, in his turn, was a pupil of Shams al-Dīn al-Jazarī (d. 833).¹ By the first quarter of the 10th century, 'Abd al-Awwal moved to Gujarāt probably on account of Shī'a disturbances, and subsequently spent several years in the Ḥaramayn pursuing higher courses of Ḥadīth learning. Back to Aḥmadābād before 941/1534², he worked very hard for the cause of al-Ḥadīth and other branches of Muslim learning until he devoted himself exclusively to the contemplative life of a Ṣūfī in his advanced years. At the invitation of Bayram Khān, the Khān-i-Khānān, he went to Delhi in 966/1558 and died there two years

1. 'Abd al-Ḥayy Nadawī, Ma'ārif al-'Awārif (MS.), Chapter التحديث في بلاد الهند -

2. Ivanow, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts*, ASB (Calcutta, 1924), No. 996.

later.¹

His works :

(i) *Faid al-Bārī fi Sharḥ al-Bukhārī*.² This commentary of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*, the first of its kind ever written in India,³ does not appear to have survived down to our times in full, only some extracts from the first part of the commentary having been preserved in the *Ghāyat al-Tawḍīḥ li 'l-Jāmi' al-Ṣaḥīḥ* by 'Uthmān b. Ibrāhīm al-Sindī⁴ (q.v.).

(ii) *Muntakhab-i-Kitāb-i-Sifr al-Sa'āda* (ASB No. 996 *Per*)⁵. A collection of Traditions relating to the person of the Prophet selected from the *Sifr al-Sa'āda* by al-Firūzābādī (d. 817) and translated into Persian. The work is divided into ten *bābs*. It was composed at Aḥmadābād in 941/1534 with a view to achieving twofold purposes, namely, averting the invasion of Humāyūn who was then marching towards Gujarāt from Delhi⁶ and avoiding the plague that was raging there at the time.⁷

3. *Khawāja Mubārak b. Makhdūm al-Arrajānī al-Ruhtakī al-Banārasī* (d. 981/1573)

Khawāja Mubārak was born at Bak'hara, south of Benares where some of his ancestors had come from Ruhtak, his family originally hailing from Arrajān in

1. *Akhbār*, pp. 237-38 misprints Bayram Khān as Pīr Khān; *Khazina*, Vol. I, p. 427, mistakes 998 A.H. for 968 A.H.; *Hadā'iq*, pp. 379-80; *Itḥāf*, p. 302; *Tiqṣār*, p. 177; Muḥammad Siddiq, *Kalimat al-Sādiqin* (MS. Bankipur, No. 671 (Pr), fol. 80b; *Tadhkira-i-'Ulamā'*, p. 106; *Yād-i-Ayyām*, pp. 35-36; Ma'ārif, Vol. XXII, pp. 42, 259. Storey, *Persian Literature*, Vol. II, pp. 192-93; 'Abd al-Awwal b. 'Alī is a mistake for 'Abd al-Awwal b. al-'Alā' as in the *Akhbār*, loc. cit.

2. *Akhbār*, loc. cit.; *Itḥāf*, p. 56.

3. Ma'ārif, loc. cit.

4. *Infra*.

5. *Akhbār*, loc. cit.; ASB, loc. cit., under the title of *Risāla-i-Aḥwāl-i-Paighambar*.

6. Cf. Ulughkhānī, Vol. I, p. 260, III, Li.

7. Ivanow, *Catalogue ASB*, No. 996; Storey, op. cit. ii, p. 193.

Fāris¹, as the *nisba* al-Arrajānī suggests. He was a disciple of his father Makhdūm Arrajānī, a noted Ṣūfī scholar², who gave his son Mubārak a good education in Islamic learning. Besides being a learned divine, Khawāja Mubārak possessed administrative abilities which secured him the post of minister under Sher Shah Sūrī (946-52). He died in the fort of Chūnār in 981/1573³.

His works :

Madārij al-Akhhbār (Bankipur No. 364 Tradition). Following the arrangement of al-Baghawī's *Maṣābiḥ al-Sunna*, Khawāja Mubārak classified the Traditions of al-Ṣaghānī's *Mashāriq al-Anwār* according to subject matters and named it *Madārij al-Akhhbār*⁴ (the gradation of Traditions), a title significant of its contents. Its Bankipur MS.⁵ which is presumably a unique copy shows that the work has been divided into 25 *kitābs*, each *kitāb* has been subdivided into *bābs* and some of the *bābs* into *faṣls*⁶.

4. *Shaykh Bhikārī' al-Kākūrūwī* (890-981/1485-1573).

Nizām al-Dīn b. Amīr Saif al-Dīn, popularly

1. Le Strange, p. 48 ; Suyūṭī ; *Lubb al-Lubāb*, ed. P.J. Veth, p. 9.

2. His grave is still to be seen at Bak'hara (*Nuzha*, IV, s. v. *Shaykh Mubārak al-Banārasī*).

3. *Tajallī-i-Nūr*, p. 55 ; Ma'ārif, (Vol. XXV, No. 5), 347 ; *Nuzha*, loc. cit.

4. Cf. *Tajallī-i-Nūr*, loc. cit. ; Ma'ārif, loc. cit. : *Catalogue*, Bankipur, V (2), 93 (sic) وقد تمت هذه النسخة الشريفة المسمى مدارج الاخبار، و كان اسمها قبل الترتيب مشارق الانوار -

5. No. 364, Tradition. As the compiler of the Catalogue, Bankipur Library (Vol. V, part II, p. 92) has not been able to correctly identify the present work and its author, his opinion in this connection cannot carry any weight.

6. Ibid.

7. Badā'ūnī, p. 24 (= Haig, p. 42) mistakes Bhikan for Bhikārī, Cf. Ḥaydar Kākūrūwī, *Mashāḥir-i-Kākūrī* (Lucknow, 1927), p. 441.

known as Makhdūm Bhikārī, a famous Sūfī scholar, was born at Kākūrī, near Lucknow in 890/1485. He read the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī, the *Sunan* of Abū Dāwūd and *Jāmi' al-Uṣūl* at Jhānsī and Lucknow under Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Baghdādī and Diyā' al-Dīn al-Muḥaddith al-Madanī respectively.¹ He wrote a treatise on Uṣūl al-Ḥadīth entitled *al-Minhāj*² MS. copy of which together with his *Sanad-i-Ḥadīth* is likely to be available in the library of the Khānqa at Kākūrī where Makhdūm's descendants are still living. He died there in 981/1573.³

5. *Shaykh 'Abd al-Mālik al-Kujrātī al-'Abbāsī*
(d. circ. 970/1562).

He read Ḥadīth with his brother Quṭb al-Dīn, a disciple of al-Sakhāwī. A *Ḥāfiẓ*, memoriser of the Qur'ān and the *Ṣaḥīḥ* al-Bukhārī, 'Abd al-Mālik devoted his whole life for the cause of al-Ḥadīth of which he had been a teacher in Gujarāt until he died in about 970/1562.⁴

6. *Tāhir al-Fattānī* (914-986/1508-78).

Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Tāhir b. 'Alī al-Fattānī al-Hindī al-Hanafī, the celebrated *Malik al-Muḥaddithīn*, the Prince of the Traditionists, was born at Nahrwāla-Pattan in North Gujarāt in 914/1508. Through his mother he was a descendant of Abū Bakr

1. Supra, p. 112.

2. 'Abd al-Ḥayy Nadawī, *Ma'ārif al-'Awārif* Ch. on الحديث في بلاد الهند.

3. Badā'ūnī, 24=Haig, 42; *Tadhkira-i-'Ulamā'* p. 33; Haydar Kākūrūwī, *Mashāhir-i-Kākūrī*, pp. 441 seq; *Nuzha* vol. iv, s. v. Nizām al-Dīn b. Saif al-Dīn; *Ma'ārif*, vol. xxii, No. 5, p. 332.

4. *Yād-i-Ayyām*, p. 55, (sic) وكان حافظ القرآن و صحيح البخارى و كان يدرس عن ظهر قلبه و *Nuzha* IV; *Ma'ārif*, vol. xxii No. 4, pp. 259-60.

al-Ṣiddīq (d. 13), the first Caliph of Islām. Educated in Gujarāt under Shaykh Nāgūrī, Mullā Mahta, the Ustād al-Zamān and others, he joined the school of 'Alī al-Muttaqī at Makka in 944/1537 and read Ḥadīth over there for about six years. Besides his beloved teacher 'Alī al-Muttaqī whom he mentions with gratitude in the introduction of his works,¹ al-Fattānī read with other Makkan Traditionists also notably Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī, Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Bakrī and Muftī Quṭb al-Dīn al-Nahrwālī. On his return to Gujarāt in about 950/1543 he concentrated his energies on threefold tasks: (1) the popularization through his school at Pattan of the science of Tradition in Gujarāt, (2) compilation of books on al-Ḥadīth and (3) reclamation of the members of his own community, the Buhiras who had become followers of a pretender Mahdī Maḥmūd al-Jawnpūrī. Though a promising reformer, he could not achieve much as his life was cut short through his murder on Shawwāl 6, 986/December, 1578 by the Mahdawis at a place between Ujjain and Sarangpūr.² Al-Fattānī has, however, been immortalized by his invaluable works on al-Ḥadīth which are as follows :

(i) *Al-Mughnī fī Dabṭ-al-Rijāl*³ [published]. This is the first compilation of Ṭāhir al-Fattānī written immediately after his return from Arabia, at Pattan in Dhū 'l-Qa'da, 952/January, 1546,⁴ and is otherwise a short but nonetheless comprehensive work designed to

1. *Majma' Biḥār al-Anwār*, (Newul Kishore, Lucknow. 1314 A.H.) vol. I, p. 3; *al-Mughnī* (lithographed on the margin of Ibn Ḥajar's *Taqrib*, ed. Delhi, 1290 A.H.), pp. 3-4.

2. *Nūr*, pp. 361-62; *Akḥbār*, p. 264; *Ma'thar*, pp. 194-96; *Subḥat*, p. 43; *Khazna*, vol. i, pp. 436-37; *Iladā'iq*, pp. 385-86; *Ithāf*, p. 397; *Abjad*, p. 895; *Tiqṣār*, p. 180; Lakhnawī, *al-Ta'hqāt al-Saniyya* lithographed on the margin of his *al-Fawā'id al-Bahiyya* (Lucknow, 1895), p. 67; *Tadhkira-i-'Ulamā'*, pp. 195-96; Ma'ārif, vol. xxii No. 4, p. 264; Bankipur Catalogue Vol. 2, pp. 32-34; Būḥār Cat. vol. ii, pp. 467; Brockelmann, Suppl. I, pp. 601-02.

3. For the correct title of the work, see author's *Majma' Biḥār*, p. 4.

4. *Al-Mughnī* (lithographed on the margin of Ibn Ḥajar's *Taqrib*, ed. Delhi, 1308 A.H.), p. 352.

supply us correct readings (*qabt*) of such names of the narrators (*ruwāt*) of Ḥadīth, their fathers, grandfathers and of their *kunyas* or *laqabs* as are liable to misreading. All such confused names (*mushtabihāt*), the author arranges alphabetically. At the end of the discussion of the confused names under every alphabetical letter, he also gives the correct readings of all the confused *nisbas* that come under the letter concerned. This is not all. Occasionally, short biographical notices of the *ruwāt* and the *ṭabaqas* to which they belong have also been added. Names of prophets and relevant places that are likely to give rise to confusion, also have not been left out. The last few pages have been devoted to the brief life-sketches of the Prophet, his four Caliphs, the Imāms of the *Madhāhib Arba'* and the authors of the *Ṣiḥāḥ Sitta*.

The work has been lithographed twice in Delhi, in 1290/1873 and 1308/1890 on the margin of Ibn Ḥajar's *al-Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb*¹.

(ii) *Tadhkirat al-Mawḍu'āt* [published]. In this book the author makes a collection of *mawḍu'* and *qā'if* Aḥādīth from works on *al-Mawḍu'āt* written by his predecessors, viz., *al-Suyūṭi's Kitāb al-La'li*, *Kitāb al-Dhail* and *Kitāb al-Wajiz*, *al-Sakhāwī's al-Maqāṣid al-Hasana*, *al-Firūzābādī's Mukhtaṣar Kitāb al-Mughnī li'l-'Iraqī*, *al-Ṣaghānī's al-Mawḍu'āt* and others.² The Traditions have been arranged according to subject-matters into as many as 226 *bābs* beginning with *al-Kitāb al-Tawḥīd*³ and ending with the *bāb fī Sa'at Raḥmatihī wa Shafā'at al-Nabī ṣallā Allāh 'alaihi wa sallām*.⁴ Every Tradition has been preceded by its source (سأخذ) and has been followed by author's own remarks, such as that the Tradition is unfounded, base-

1. Bankipur Catalogue, vol. xii, p. 68.

2. Cf. *Tadhkirat al-Mawḍu'āt* (Egypt, 1343 A.H.) 1st ed., p. 4.

3. Ibid., p. 11.

4. Ibid., p. 226.

less or forged (باطل، لا اصل له، موضوع) or that one or other of the *ruwāt* is *ḍa'if* (weak), *Kadhdhāb* (liar) or *wadḍā'* (forger), or by those of the other critics, viz., Aḥmad b. Hanbal (d. 241), al-Bukhārī (d. 256), al-Nasa'ī (d. 303), al-Dāraquṭnī (d. 385), Ibn Hibbān (d. 354), Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597), al-Ṣaghānī (d. 650), al-Dhahabī (d. 748), al-'Irāqī (d. 806) and Ibn Hajar al-Haithamī (d. 952) together with the opinion of his own Shaykh, 'Alī al-Muttaqī (d. 975), as قال شيخنا. The work was completed in Dhū 'l-Qa'da, 958/November, 1551, as is evident from a MS. in the Bānkīpūr Library,¹ and was first published in Egypt in 1343/1924 along with the author's *Qānūn al-Mawḍū'āt*.

(iii) *Qānūn al-Mawḍū'āt wa 'l-Du'afā'* is a supplement to the *Tadhkirat al-Mawḍū'āt*. It covers, in a short compass, the whole range of weak and apocryphal authorities (*ruwāt*) arranged alphabetically. The author does not give any detailed information of the *ruwāt* by way of biographical notice as has been done in the *Mizān al-I'tidāl* or the *Lisān al-Mizān*, but merely puts after every name the verdicts of the critics regarding him.

(iv) *Asmā' al-Rijāl* (Bānkīpūr, XII, No. 730). It is a biographical work on *Ruwāt al-Ḥadīth*, divided into three *Faṣls* of which the first, consisting of several *anwā'* has been devoted, in the main, to a short life-sketch of the Prophet. The second, extending over only two folios, contains some accounts of other prophets. The third *Faṣl* has been divided into two *nawā'* of which the first deals chiefly with the ten most eminent Companions of the Prophet, called *al-'Asharat al-Mubashsharat*, and the second which forms the major part of the work, comprises of notices of other male and female Companions, their successors (*Tābi'ūn*) and

1. Bānkīpūr, vol. v, part ii, p. 33.

other Traditionists, all arranged alphabetically.¹

(v) *Majma' Biḥār al-Anwār* [published]²: a very popular and compendious dictionary of the *Gharā'ib*, i.e., difficult and uncommon words in al-Qur'ān and al-Ḥadīth. The work comprises the *Aṣl al-Kitāb* (Main Book), a *Khātima* (Appendix) and a *Takmila* (Supplement). The author has collected in the *Aṣl al-Kitāb* which is divided into three volumes almost all the *Gharā'ib* of the Qur'ān, the *Ṣiḥāḥ Sitta* and the *Mishkāṭ al-Maṣābiḥ* and what yet remained has been covered by the *Takmila*.³ The words have been arranged alphabetically and that according to their roots. Under each root all its derivatives along with the relevant passages of the Qur'ān and al-Ḥadīth and their interpretations have been stated. Although Ibn al-Athīr's *al-Nihāya* has been his basic source, al-Fattānī has also utilized the following works: *Sharḥ al-Bukhārī*, by al-Qaṣṭallānī and by al-Kirmānī, *Sharḥ Muslim* by al-Nawawī, *Sharḥ al-Mishkāṭ* by al-Ṭībī, *Sharḥ Jāmi' al-Uṣūl* by Ibn al-Athīr, *Nāẓir 'Ain al-Gharibayn*, *Mafātiḥ Sharḥ al-Maṣābiḥ*, *Ḥāshiat al-Bukhārī* by al-Zarkashī, *Madārik al-Tanzīl*, *Tafsīr al-Bayḍāwī* and others.⁴ As for the *Khātima*,⁵ he has devoted it to the discussions of the Science of Tradition, i.e., the Technique of Ḥadīth literature, fabricators (*Waddā'*) and fabricated Traditions abridged from his *Tadhkira*, correct reading (*Dabt*) of the confused name of the *Ruwāt*, abridged from his *al-Mughnī*, chronological events (*siyar*) of the life of the Prophet from his birth down to his death, and lastly several famous *Ruwāt al-Ḥadīth*. In fine, the *Majma' Biḥār al-Anwār* may well be regarded as a short commentary of both the

1. Bānkīpūr Cat. xii, p. 67.

2. The full title of the work is *Majma' Biḥār al-Anwār fī Laṭā'if al-Tanzīl wa Gharā'ib al-Akhbār*.

3. *Majma' Biḥār* (Newul Kishore, 1314 A.H.) vol.i:

4. Ibid, vol. i, pp. 3-4, vol. iv, p. 2.

5. Ibid, vol. iii, pp.506-51.

Qur'an and the *Ṣiḥāḥ Sitta*, and a handbook of the Science of Tradition. This valuable compilation, which had been begun during the lifetime of his teacher 'Alī al-Muttaqī, *i.e.*, before 975/1567, took the author about seven long years to finish it.¹ It was lithographed at the Newul Kishore Press, Lucknow, for the second time in 1314/1896. In the opinion of Nawwāb Ṣiddiq Hasan, by writing this book which met with universal approval and recognition of the scholars, al-Fattānī has placed the World of Islām under a deep debt of gratitude.²

7. *Shaykh Ṭayyib al-Sindī (d. circ. 999/1590).*

Born and bred in Sind, Shaykh Ṭayyib received his early education at his native place from Mawlānā Yūnus al-Sindī and then read Ḥadīth at Aḥmadābād under 'Abd al-Awwal al-Ḥusaynī (*d.* 968). He is credited to have taught the Science of Ḥadīth at Ilīchpūr in Berār and also at Burhānpūr for a period of fifty years and died in the nineties of the 10th century.³ The Traditionist Jamāl al-Dīn al-Burhānpūrī read the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī from start to finish with Shaykh Ṭayyib at Burhānpūr.⁴

His work :—

Ta'liqāt 'Alā Mishkāṭ al-Maṣābiḥ, Glosses on the *Mishkāṭ al-Maṣābiḥ*.⁵

8. *Shaykh 'Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī al-Sulṭānpūrī (d. 990/1582).*

A scholar and a Traditionist, Shaykh 'Abd Allāh, famous as Makhdūm al-Mulḳ, a title given him by

1. *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 3; p. 450; vol. III, p. 506.

2. *Abjad al-'alūm*, p. 896.

3. *Nuzha* (MS), vol. IV, s.v., Mawlānā al-Ṭayyib al-Sindī; *Guljār-i-Abrār* referred to in *Nuzha*; *Yād-i-Ayyām*, pp. 35-36.

4. *Nuzha*, IV, s.v., al-Shaykh Jamāl al-Burhānpūrī.

5. *Nuzha*, loc. cit.

Humāyūn¹ (937-46/1530-39), was the chief of the 'Ulamā' during the successive reigns of the Afghān Rulers of Delhi.² During the time of Akbar (963-1014/1556-1605), he was the leader of the orthodox party and had, on that account, to suffer a great deal along with his fellow 'Ulamā'.³ While on pilgrimage to Makka, Shaykh 'Abd Allāh was held in high esteem for his scholarship by no less a person than Ibn Hajar al-Haythamī himself.⁴ He breathed his last in Gujarāt in 990/1582⁵ after his return from the holy city.⁶ He was born at Sulṭānpūr, now in Kapūrthala State, in 937/1530.⁷

His works :—

(i) *Sharḥ 'Alā Shamā'il al-Nabī*⁸—a Commentary on the *Shamā'il al-Nabī* of al-Tirmidhī.

(ii) *'Iṣmat al-Anbiyā'* (Bānkīpūr, Vol. X, No. 569) : The work is divided into a *Muqaddima* and three Faṣls. The author dedicated the present work to Prince Muizz al-Dīn Muḥammad Kāmraṇ (d. 964).

9. *Shaykh 'Abd al-Nabī al-Gangūhī* (d. 990/1582).

Shaykh 'Abd al-Nabī, a contemporary of Makhdūm al-Mulk and a grandson of the famous saint 'Abd al-Quddūs (d. 945) of Gangūh, was a pupil in al-Ḥadīth of Ibn Hajar al-Haythamī.⁹ The study of Ḥadīth influenced him so greatly that he altogether discarded *Samā'* in which he had been trained according to the tradition of his family as a necessary concomitant of

1. *Badā'ūnī*, p. 70 = Haig, p. 114.

2. *I.e.* Sher Shāh, Salīm Shāh, Firūz Shāh and 'Ādil Shāh reigned from 946/1539 to 962/1554, cf. Haig, p. 98, No. 6.

3. *Ibid* ; also p. 113, No. 2.

4. *Nuzha*, Vol. IV, s. v. al-Shaykh 'Abd Allāh al-Sulṭānpūrī.

5. 1006 A.H. according to Khazīna, vol. i, pp. 447-8.

6. *Badā'ūnī*, p. 73 = Haig, p. 116.

7. *Ā'in-i-Akhbari and Ma'thar al-Umarā'*, s. v. 'Abdullāh Sulṭānpūrī T. *'Ulamā'-i-Hind*, p. 103 ; Beale, p. 6.

8. *Badā'ūnī*, p. 71 = Haig, p. 114.

9. *Nuzha*, IV, s. v. 'Abd al-Nabī al-Kankūhī.

a Šūfi life in those days.¹ He was a teacher of Akbar² who appointed him *Šadr al-Šudur*³ which exalted office 'Abd al-Nabi held till the year 986/1578 when, as a result of the machination of Faiḍī (d. 1004), he fell into disgrace.⁴ Along with 'Abd Allāh al-Sulṭānpūrī he was forced, on pain of death, to sign Akbar's Religious Decree⁵. He died at Agrā on Rabi' I 12, 990/March, 1582.⁶

His works :—

(i) *Sunan al-Hudā fi Mutāba'at al-Muṣṭafā* (Būhār No. 132 Ar.; ASB No. 500 Ar.; Rāmpūr No. 185 Ar.)⁷ It is a collection of Traditions selected from authentic Ḥadīth works (*Kutub al-Aḥādīth al-Šaḥīḥa*) having bearing on religious duties and observances.

The book comprises of a *Muqaddima* (introduction), three Parts (*aqsām*) and a *Khātima* (conclusion); the parts again are subdivided into *Faṣls* (chapters).⁸

(ii) *Waṣā'if al-Ya'um wa'l Laila al-Nabuwīyya*,⁹ a collection of Aḥādīth on *ad'īya*, or prayers.

1. Badā'ūnī, p. 80=Haig, p. 127; Ma'ārif, Vol. XXII, No. 4, p. 266.

2. Beale, pp. 7-8.

3. The Superintendent of all lands devoted to ecclesiastical and benevolent purposes and also the highest law officer having powers similar to those of the present-day Administrators-General (Haig, p. 122, No. 2 quoting *A'in-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, p. 270).

4. Haig, p. 412 note.

5. Badā'ūnī, p. 84=Haig, p. 131.

6. *Nūr*, pp. 370-80. Badā'ūnī gives his death-date variously in 991 A.H. (Vol. III, p. 131) and 992 A.H. (Vol. II, p. 312). Notices on his biography will also be found in *A'in-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, p. 490; *Mir'at-i-'Ālam*, fol. 262b; *Ma'thar al-Umasā'*; *Darbār-i-Akbari*, pp. 320-28; 'Abd al-Ḥayy Lakhnavī, *Ṭarḥ al-Amāthil*, ed. Lucknow, p. 218; *Tadhkira-i-'Ulamā'*, p. 134; Catalogue, Būhār, Vol. II, p. 146.

7. A MS. copy is also preserved in Dār al-'Ulūm of Deoband.

8. For detailed description of the contents of the work, see Būhār Catalogue, Vol. II, pp. 446-50.

9. Brockelmann, Sup. II, p. 602. This treatise appears to be the same as the *Waṣā'if al-Nabi fi Ad'iyat al-Māthūra* mentioned by 'Abd al-Ḥayy Nadawī in his *Ma'ārif al-'Awārif* s. v.

10. *Shaykh Wajih al-Dīn al-'Alawī al-Kujrātī*
(910-98/1504-1580).

A celebrated Professor of Aḥmadābād, Shaykh Wajih al-Dīn was a pupil of 'Imād al-Dīn al-Tarīmī (d. 941) and Shaykh Ghawth Gawāliyārī (d. 970)¹. He was born at Champanir in Muḥarram, 910/June, 1504, and founded at Aḥmadābād a *Madrasa* which during his life-time developed into a great seat of learning.² He wrote annotations (*ḥawāshī*) and commentaries on as many as twenty-three books varying from *Sharḥ Jāmi'* to *Tafsīr al-Baiḍāwī*. His commentary on Ibn Ḥajar's *Nuḥḥat al-Naẓar fī Sharḥ Nukhbat al-Fikar* entitled *Sharḥ Sharḥ Nukhbat al-Fikar* has been preserved in the libraries of Bānkīpur,³ Rāmpūr⁴ and Nadwa at Lucknow.⁵

Wajih al-Dīn died at Aḥmadābād in Muḥarrar, 998/ February, 1580.⁶

10. *Shaykh Ṭāhir b. Yūsuf al-Sindī al-Burhānpūrī*
(d. 1004/1595).

Shaykh Ṭāhir was born at Patri, near Cutch in Gujarāt, and took his early education from Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn al-Sindī. In 950/1543, he proceeded to Gujarāt and joined the Hadīth classes of 'Abd al-Awwal al-Ḥusainī at Aḥmābād. On completion of the course, he was initiated to Ṣūfism by the famous saint Shaykh Ghawth Gawāliyārī (d. 970). Accompanied by Maūlānā

1. For 'Imād al-Dīn al-Tarīmī, *Nūr*, p. 204, and for Ghawth Gawāliyārī, *Badā'ūnī*, p. 5 = Haig, p. 6.

2. *Yād-i-Ayyām*, p. 33; Abu'l-Ḥasanāt, op. cit., p. 76.

3. Bānkīpur, Vol. V, part ii, No. 454.

4. No. 16 (*Uṣūl al-Ḥadīth*).

5. Hand List No. 704 (Nawādir).

6. *Badā'ūnī*, pp. 44-45 = Haig, pp. 70-73; *Mir'at-i-Aḥmadi*, Supplement tr. by Nawab 'Alī (Bombay, 1924), pp. 67-69; *Subḥat*, p. 45; *Ma'thar*, p. 196; *Hadā'iq*, pp. 388-89; *Abjad*, p. 896; *Tadhkira-i-'Ulamā*, 249; *Būḥār*, Vol. II, p. 188.

Ṭayyib al-Sindī,¹ he entered Burhānpūr where he set up his residence. He died there in 1004/1595.²

His works :—

(i) *Talkhīṣ Sharḥ Asmā' al-Rijāl al-Bukhārī li 'l-Kirmānī*,³ a compendium of al-Kirmānī's *Sharḥ Asmā' al-Rijāl al-Bukhārī*.

(ii) *Multaqaṭ Jam' al-Jawāmi'*,⁴ a selection of al-Suyūṭī's *Jam' al-Jawāmi'*.

(iii) *Sharḥ al-Bukhārī*, a commentary on al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* based on al-Qaṣṭallānī's *Irshād al-Sārī fī Sharḥ al-Bukhārī*.⁵

(iv) *Riyāḍ al-Sālīḥīn*, or the Gardens of the Pious. The work consists of three *rawḍaṭs* (gardens) of which the first contains a selection of authentic Traditions, the second, essays on Sufism and the third or the last, discourses (*malfūẓāt*) of eminent saints.⁶

12. *Shaykh Ya'qūb b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣarfī al-Kashmīrī* (908-1003/1502-95).

Shaykh Ya'qūb became famous as a teacher of Hadīth of Aḥmad al-Sarhindī, better known as Mujaddid-i-Alf-i-Thānī (d. 1034).⁷ Born in Kashmīr in 908/1502, al-Ṣarfī came under the instructions of Ibn Hajar al-Haythamī at Makka in 964/1556⁸ after he had been educated at his native place, as also at Samarqand in Ma'qūlāt and Fiqh. In Persian poetry he was a pupil of Shāh Ānī, a disciple of 'Abd al-

1. *Nuzha*, Vol. IV, s. v. al-Ṭayyib al-Sindī.

2. *Ibid.*, s. v., Ṭāhir b. Yūsuf al-Sindī ; *Guljār-i-Abrār*.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ma'ārif al-'Awārif*, Ch. مصنفات اهل الهند في الحديث

5. *Ibid.*, s. v. شروح البخاري

6. *Nuzha*, loc. cit.

7. *Infra*, p. 140.

8. *Badā'ūnī*, p 12—Haig, p 20.

Rahmān al-Jāmī (d.898), and composed poems under the *nom de plume* (*takhalluṣ*) of al-Ṣarfī. Later, while he was a teacher in Kashmir, he paid a visit to al-Iljāz for the second time and stayed there for a year, procuring books on Tafsīr, Hadith and Fiqh which he introduced into his institution. He died in Kashmir in Dhū'l-Qa'da 18, 1003/July, 1595.¹

His works:—

(i) *Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, a commentary on al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, which does not seem to have long survived.

(ii) *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān*, an incomplete commentary of the Qur'ān preserved in the library of Dār al-Muṣannifin at A'zamgarh.²

(iii) *Risāla-i-Adhkār*.

(iv) *Maghāzī al-Nabuwat*, a treatise (in verse) on the life of the Prophet.³

13. *Hājī Muḥammad al-Kashmīrī* (d. 1006/1597).

Another devoted disciple of Ibn Hajar al-Haythamī⁴ from Kashmir, a contemporary of al-Ṣarfī, was Hājī Muḥammad al-Kashmīrī.⁵ His ancestors had come to that country as entourage of 'Alī al-Hamadānī

1. Ibid, pp. 142-49 = pp. 200-09; 260 = p. 360; *Nuzha*, iv, s. v., Ya'qūb b. al-Ḥasan; Hadā'iq, pp. 391-95; A'zamī, *Tārīkh-i-Kashmir*, pp. 110-11; *Tadhkira-i-'Ulamā*, p. 255. The date of his birth given by the last two books as 978 A.H. and which has been quoted in Ma'ārif, vol. XXII (4), p. 261, is not correct. cf. Badā'ūnī, loc. cit. and also Storey, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 193.

2. Ma'ārif, Vol. XXII (4).

3. *Nuzha*, loc. cit.

4. Vide his *Sharḥ Shamā'il al-Nabī* (MS. Bānkīpūr, No. 1182 Persian), fol. 3.

5. For his name, see his *Sharḥ Ḥiṣn Ḥaṣin* (MS Bānkīpūr, No. 1419 (Persian), *khātima*. حاجی محمد کشمیری ثم المکی ثم المدنی ثم - کشمیری

(d. 786) whose *Khānqa*¹ therein became afterwards a seminar for Hājī Muḥammad. Before joining the School of Ibn Hajar at Makka, he read in Delhi. He also learnt Hādīth from eminent Madinian Traditionists.² A man of wide and varied learning, Hājī Muḥammad compiled as many as eighteen books including a commentary of the Qur'ān in Persian.³ His works on Hādīth are as follows :—

(i) *Sharḥ Shamā'il al-Nabī* (Bānkīpūr, No. 1182 Pr.; Buḥār No. 159), a commentary, in Persian, on al-Tirmidhī's *Shamā'il al-Nabī* completed in Jumādā I, 988/June, 1500 at the *Khānqa* of 'Alī al-Ḥamadānī in Kashmīr.⁴

(ii) *Sharḥ Mashāriq al-Anwār* (in Persian).

(iii) *Kitāb Khulāṣat al-Jāmi' fī Jam' al-Ḥadīth*, a compendium of miscellaneous Traditions.⁵

(iv) *Sharḥ Ḥiṣn Ḥaṣīn* (Bānkīpūr, XVI, No. 1419; ASB No. 993 Pr.) :⁶ a concise Persian commentary of al-Jazari's *Ḥiṣn Ḥaṣīn* written in the above mentioned *Khānqa*. This work, as the author tells us, was his last compilation.

14. *Mawlānā 'Uthmān b. 'Isā b. Ibrāhīm al-Ṣiddīqī al-Ḥanafī al-Sindī* (d. 1008/1600).

A native of Buskan (?) in Sind, Shaykh 'Uthmān was educated in Gujarāt under Wajīḥ al-Dīn 'Alawī

1. Supra, p. 73.

2. *Tadhkira-i-'Ulamā'*, p. 46; Catalogue, Bānkīpūr, Vol. XVI, p. 51; Ma'ārif, Vol. XXII No. 4, p. 261; Storey, Vol. ii, p. 175.

3. The author enumerates his works in the *khātima* (end) of his *Sharḥ-i-Ḥiṣn Ḥaṣīn*: cf MS. Bānkīpūr.

4. MS. Bānkīpūr, fol. 144.

5. Supra, n. 3.

6. Bānkīpūr, XVI, No. 1419, copy transcribed at Chittagong in 1249/1833.

(d. 998), Qādī Muḥammad al-Mawrī and Shaykh Husayn al-Baghdādī. In 983/1575, he had been to Burhānpūr and was cordially received by Muḥammad Shāh b. Mubārak (974-84/1566-76), the Fārūqī King who appointed him Professor and *Muftī* of his dominion which office 'Uthmān filled up for a period of seventeen years. While living a retired life at his village home at Buskān, he was murdered along with seventeen members of his family by a gang of dacoits in Sha'bān, 1008/February, 1600. A scholar of *Ma'qulāt* and *Manqulāt* apart, 'Uthmān was skilled in the Science of Medicine which earned him the title of al-Ḥakīm.¹

His works :—

(i) *Ghāyat al-Tawḍīḥ li'l-Jāmi'* 'al-*Ṣaḥīḥ*², a commentary on al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* preserved in the library of the India Office³ and the Aṣafiyya Library (Vol. I, No. 220).

The author says in the preface that he compiled his work from the commentaries of al-Kirmānī, al-'Asqalānī, al-Qaṣṭallānī and also, in the first portion, from the *Faiḍ al-Bārī*, a commentary by Sayyid 'Abd al-Awwal al-Ḥusainī. Then follows (foo. 2-6) an introduction in nine sections (فصل) treating in general of the Science of Tradition, of al-Bukhārī, of the names and chronology of Traditionists, etc. The Commentary itself consists of annotations on single passages of the text, the first word of which is only given, introduced by قوله.⁴

(ii) *Al-'Aqā'id al-Sunīyya*: A dissertation of 50 pages published by the Fārūqī Press at Delhi in 1309

1. *Nuzha*, Vol. V, s. v. 'Uthmān b. 'Isā b. Ibrāhīm al-Sindī ; *Gulār-i-Abrār*.

2. *Ma'ārif al-'Awārif*, s. v. شروح البخارى

3. Loth, No. 129.

4. *Ibid*.

A.H. It discusses the 'aqā'id or the tenets of the Sunnis as have been based on the Qur'ān and Aḥādīth supplementing them at times by the opinions of the doctors and theologians of early Islām. Among the authorities quoted in the treatise, the commentaries of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī by al-Kirmānī and al-Qaṣṭal-lānī and the *Manhaj al-'Ummāl* by 'Alī al Muttaqī al-Burhānpūrī figure prominently. It has been divided into seventeen *faṣls* or chapters.

15. *Shaykh Munawwar b. 'Abd al-Majīd b. 'Abd al-Shakūr al-Lāhūrī* (d. 1010/1602).

Shaykh Munawwar, a native of Lahore, was a pupil of two noted teachers of his city, Sa'd Allāh Banī Isrā'īlī (d. circ. 1000)¹ and Ishāq Kākū (d. 996.)² He completed his education at the age of twenty. In 985/1577, Akbar appointed him *Ṣadr* of Mālwa. In 995/1587, perhaps for his orthodox views, he was imprisoned in the fort of Gawāliyār whence after five years he was removed to Āgrā, his property and books having been confiscated. Further, he was subjected to tortuous punishment until he died on Dhū 'l-Qa'da 12, 1010/April, 1602.

During his internment in Gawāliyār, Shaykh Munawwar compiled his book called *al-Durr al-Naẓīm fī Tartīb al-Āy wa 'l-Suwar al-Karīm* and also vocalized Qāḍī Shihāb al-Dīn Dawlatābādī's Commentary of the Qur'ān, *al-Baḥr al-Mawwāj*. As for his contribution to Ḥadīth literature, he has to his credit commentaries of al-Saghānī's *Mashāriq al-Anwār* and al-Jazarī's *Ḥiṣn Ḥaṣīn*.³

1. Badā'ūnī, p. 53 = Haig, p. 87.

2. p. 52 = p. 86.

3. *Nuzha*, v, s.v. Munawwar b. 'Abd al-Majīd al-Lāhūrī; *Ma'ārif al-'Awārif*, s. v. - شروح حصن حصین و شروح المشارق

16. *Shaykh 'Āshiq b. 'Umar al-Hindī al-Ḥanafī*
(d. 1032).

In Ḥadīth he was pupil of 'Abd Allāh Sulṭānpūrī (d. 990) and had great reputation as a Traditionist as well as a jurist. He wrote a commentary of al-Tirmidhī's *Shamā'il al-Nabī*.¹

17. *Muḥīyy al-Dīn 'Abd al-Qādir b. Shaykh b. 'Abd Allāh al-'Aidarūsī al-Ḥadramī al-Hindī al-Aḥmadābādī* (978 1037/1570-1627).

He was the famous author of *al-Nūr al-Sāfir* and came of the cultured family of 'Aidarūsī which had migrated in the middle of the 10th century from Ḥadramawt to Aḥmadābād.² Here 'Abd al-Qādir was born on Rabī' I 10, 978/August, 1570. At once a scholar, a mystic and a Traditionist, 'Abd al-Qādir succeeded his father as teacher of their family school at Aḥmadābād and lectured in Ḥadīth and Taṣawwūf. He died at Aḥmadābād on Muḥarram 10, 1037/September, 1627.³

'Abd al-Qādir wrote a number of books⁴ on different branches of Islamic learning of which the following are on Ḥadīth :

(i) *Al-Manḥ al-Bārī bi Khatm Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*.⁵

(ii) *'Iqd al-La'l fi Faḍl'il al-Āl* (Buḥār vol. II, No. 453, 11) : a treatise on the excellences of the descendants of the Prophet based on Aḥādīth.

1. *Ḥadā'iq*, p. 404; *Ma'ārif al-'Awārif*, s. v. - شواهد النبى

2. *Supra*, p. 98.

3. Autobiography; *al-Nūr al-Sāfir*, pp. 334-43; Muḥibbi, *Khulāṣat al-Aṭhr*, ed. (Egypt), Vol. II, p. 44; *Ta'līq al-Saniyya*, p. 36; *Ḥadā'iq*, pp. 406-07; *Tadhkira-i-'Ulamā'* p. 129.

4. *Ḥadā'iq al-Hanafīyya*, p. 407, enumerates eighteen of his works. Cf. Brockelmann, *Sup. I*, p. 617.

5. *Nūr*, p. 336.

(iii) *Risāla fī Manāqib al-Bukhārī* (Buḥār, No. 454, III).¹

(iv) *Al-Qawḥ al-Jāmiʿ fī Bayān al-ʿIlm al-Nāfiʿ* (Buḥār No. 457, II). In this treatise the author has explained the meaning of the Ḥadīth طلب العلم فريضة to say that علم باطن or Ṣūfism is obligatory to all.

(v) *Kitāb al-Anmūdḥaj al-Latīf fī Ahl Badr al-Sharīf*, a work depicting the merits of Ahl Badr or the Companions who died martyrs in the battle of Badr (2/623).²

18. 'Abd al-Nabī al-Shaṭṭārī (d. circ. 1030/1621)

ʿImād al-Dīn Muḥammad ʿArīf al-ʿUthmānī al-Ḥanafī al-Shaṭṭārī³ commonly called 'Abd al-Nabī was a disciple of 'Abd Allāh al-Sūfī al-Shaṭṭārī (d. 1010) of Agrā.⁴ He wrote commentaries on a good many standard works on Philosophy, Logic, Quranic sciences and Ḥadīth. He lived at Agrā as late as the year 1020/1611. His death-date has not come down to us. His works and treatises on Ḥadīth as have been referred to by Raḥmān 'Alī in his *Tadhkira 'Ulamā'-i-Hind*⁵ are as follows:—

(i) *Dharīʿat al-Najāt fī Sharḥ al-Mishkāṭ*: a commentary on the *Mishkāṭ al-Maṣābiḥ*.

(ii) *Sharḥ Nukḥbat al-Fikar*.

(iii) *Sharḥ Ḥadīth المؤمنين الصلوة معراج*: a treatise on the meaning of the Ḥadīth.

1. His pupil Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Baskarī who read the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī with him also has a treatise of the same title (Buḥār Catalogue, Vol. II, No. 454, IV).

2. *Nūr*, p. 338.

3. On Shaṭṭārī order, vide JASB, 1874, Part I, p. 216.

4. *Wafayāt al-Akḥyār*, p. 65.

5. pp. 134-35.

(iv) *Sharḥ Ḥadīth* خير الاسماء عبد الله و عبد الرحمن

(v) *Lawāmi' al-Anwār fī Manāqib al-Sādat al-Athār*: a work on the excellences of the Ahl Bait as described in Aḥādīth.

SECTION II. Shaykh Aḥmad al-Sihriṇḍī & his School of Muḥaddithūn (1000-1296/1592-1878).

Shaykh Aḥmad al-Sihriṇḍī (971-1034/1564-1624).

Shaykh Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Aḥad al-Fārūqī al-Sihriṇḍī, popularly known as *Mujaddid-i-Alf-i-Thānī*, or the Reformer of the Second Millennium, was the celebrated founder of the Mujaddidī ordination. He was born at Sirhind (commonly called Sirhind Sharif in the Patialā State in the (E. Punjāb) in Shawwāl, 971/May, 1564. He received his early education from his father. Then he went to Siyālkot, thence to Kashmir studying *Ma'qūlāt* and *Manqūlāt* under Mullā Kāmal al-Dīn al-Kashmīrī (d. 1017)¹ and Shaykh Ya'qūb al-Ṣarfī (d. 1003) respectively. Al-Ṣarfī granted him *Ijāza* for al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*, al-Tabrīzī's *Mishkāṭ* and al-Suyūṭī's *al-Jāmi' al-Ṣaḥīḥ*. Aḥmad obtained further *Ijāza* for the *Ṣiḥāḥ Sitta* from Qaḍī Bahlūl al-Badakhshī² who was a pupil of the famous Makkan Traditionist, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Fahd.³ In 1007/1598 he was admitted to the Naqsh-

1. For him, see A'zamī, *Tārīkh-i-Kashmir*, p. 119.

2. *Nuzha*, v, s. v. al-Shaykh 'Aḥmad al-Mujaddid. The *isnād* of al-Badakhshī is as follows:—

القاضي بهلول البخشي عن الشيخ عبد الرحمن بن فهد عن
ابيه الشيخ عبد القادر وعنه الشيخ جابر الله عن ابيهما الشيخ عز الدين
عبد العزيز عن جده الحافظ الرحلة تقي الدين محمد بن العلوي الهاشمي
والحافظ شهاب الدين ابن حنجر العسقلاني -

Cf. *Zubdat al-Maqāṣid* (Ms. Bankipur No. 197 Pers), foll. 91a-93b.

3. The statement of Raḥmān 'Alī (*Tadhkira-i-'Ulamā*, p. 10) that 'Abd al-Raḥmān was an Indian Traditionist is not correct. Cf. *Zubdat al-Maqāṣid*, fol. 92a.

bandī order by Khawāja ‘Abd al-Bāqī al-Naqshbandī (d. 1012). He died at Sirhind on Ṣafar 20, 1034/November, 1624 at the age of sixty-three.¹ His tomb which exists to this day is always frequented by visitors.

Although a profound scholar in the lore of Hadīth as is seen from a perusal of his Maktūbāt, Shaykh Aḥmad al-Sirhindī left us his only treatise on *Arba’in*.² His role as a Traditionist and a Reformer consisted not in writing books on, or imparting lessons in, Hadīth though occasionally he did so³ but in creating out of chaos and confusions that were rampant in the body politic of Islām in his time, an atmosphere congenial to the study and culture of the Qur’ān and al-Hadīth. As a result of Akbar’s anti-Sunnite policy,⁴ the Shī’a dignitaries like the Persian Ministers in the ‘Abbāsīd court, who had become all in all in the Mughul administration, were out to undermine the religion of the Sunnīs. While, on the other hand, the Ṣūfis, in the name of sanctity, were preaching and practising all sorts of un-Islamic innovations (*bid’a*) which were at once disrupting and disintegrating the body politic of Islām.⁵ Against these and other abuses of the day,⁶ the Mujaddid rose in an open revolt and began to preach the true import of Islām to all and sundry by delivering sermons as well as by writing down tracts and epistles—activities for which he incurred the

1. *Aḥbār*, p. 303; *Khazina*, vol. I, p. 607; *Ḥadā’iq*, 404-06; *al-Yāminī al-Jamī*, pp. 91-95; *Tadhkira-i-Ulamā*, pp. 10-12.

2. *Ma’ārif*, Vol. XXII, No. 4, pp. 334-35.

3. *وكان يدرس في علوم شتى من الفقه و الاصول و الحديث (المشكوة و البخارى) Nuzha*, loc. cit.

4. Burhān al-Dīn, *The Mujaddid’s conception of Tawḥīd* (Lahore, 1940), pp. 16 sq.

5. *Al-Furqān*, Walī Allāh Number, ed. Manẓūr Nu’mānī (Barielly, 1941) 2nd ed. pp. 172-3; *Ma’ārif*, loc. cit.

6. For details, see *al-Furqān*, pp. 46-52; Burhān al-Dīn, op. cit., 10c. cit.

displeasure of the government whereon Emperor Jahāngir had him imprisoned in the fort of Gawāliyār. After suffering incarceration for two long years, he was finally released. His piety and steadfastness to the truth of Islām, however, impressed Jahāngir to an extent that he was persuaded to have his son Prince Khurram initiated by the Mujaddid. Thus at long last his life's mission received the recognition of the royalty and steadily met with success in bringing about reforms among the Musalmans of his contemporary India. Millions of Muslims of all strata of society both from India and outside took *bay'a* from him and thereby paved the way for their moral and spiritual regeneration. By his correct interpretation of Islām as also by setting a noble example of his forceful personality, Shaykh Aḥmad al-Sirhindī not only saved Islām from disintegration but also brought about a much needed synthesis between *Shari'a* and *Tariqa*.

The secret of the Mujaddid's success, however, lay above all in his emphasizing the study of the Qur'ān and Ḥadīth among his co-religionists.¹ The noble work of reforms through the study of the Qur'ān and Ḥadīth started by him was ably carried on by generations of the scions of his family as will be noticed below.

1. *Shaykh Sa'id b. Aḥmad al-Sirhindī* (1003-70/1594-1659).

Shaykh Sa'id surnamed *Khāzin al-Raḥmat*, or the Treasurer of Blessings, learnt the Science of Tradition from his father and also 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Rūmī. At the advanced age of his father, Shaykh Sa'id became a Professor of the *Khānqa* and taught Ḥadīth and other subjects until 1034/1624 when he

left for the Haramayn. He returned to Sirhind in 1069/1658 and died in 1070/1659. He had to his credit a *Hāshiya* (glosses) on the *Mishkāt al-Maṣābiḥ*.¹

2. Shaykh Sa'id's son *Farrūkh Shāh* (1038-1112), a versatile Traditionist, was said to have committed to memory as many as seventy thousand Aḥādīth together with *asānīd* and thereby acquired the title of al-Ḥāfiẓ.²

3. *Sirāj Aḥmad al-Mujaddidī* (1176-1230/1762-1815).

Sirāj Aḥmad b. Murshid b. Arshad b. Farrūkh Shāh was born in 1176/1762 at Sirhind which was subjected to Sikh persecution for the third time in 1177/1763 when his father Shaykh Murshid (1117-1201)³ along with his family members migrated to Rāmpūr⁴. Sirāj Aḥmad read Ḥadīth literature with his father who was himself a scholar of the science. He was a contemporary of Salām Allāh (d. 1229), the Traditionist of the house of 'Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Dihlawī and Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Dihlawī (d. 1235). He died in 1230/1815 at Lucknow whence his dead body was brought to Rāmpūr to bury by the side of his father⁵.

His works :—

(i) *Tarjuma-i-Fārsī Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* : a Persian tr. with explanatory notes of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim. An

1. *Al-Yānī* 'l-Jawī, p. 95; *Ḥadū'iq*, p. 417; *Tadhkira-i-Ulamā*, p. 190; also *Nuzha*; Ma'ārif al-'Awārif; Panīpatī, *Tadhkirat al-Ansāb*, s. v. Sa'id b. Aḥmad al-Sīhrindī.

2. *Al-Yānī*, loc. cit; *Nuzha*, s. v. Farrūkh b. Sa'id.

3. For Shaykh Murshid see, Aḥmad 'Alī Khān Shawq's *Tadhkira-i-Kāmilān-i-Rāmpūr* (Delhi, 1929) pp. 389-91.

4. *Ibid*, p. 389.

5. *Ibid*, p. 147-49. Ma'ārif, Vol. XXXIII, No. 6, p. 444.

autograph copy of this work in three volumes is available in the State Library of Rāmpūr.

(ii) *Sharḥ-i-Fārsī 'alā Jāmi 'al-Tirmidhī*: a concise Persian commentary of the *Jāmi'* of al-Tirmidhī published along with *Majmu'a Shuruḥ-i-Arba'* by Nizāmī Press at Delhi. The work was begun in Dhū'l-Iḥijja, 1220/Feb., 1806, and completed in Dhū'l-Iḥijja, 1222/Jan., 1808. The author states in the preface that at the time of compilation he had not any commentary or translation of the *Jāmi'* before him to consult. So the work is the result of his independent labour and vast scholarship in the science of Tradition. A special feature of the commentary is that the author has been able to trace in the majority of the cases the *isnād* of those Aḥādīth which have been referred to by al-Tirmidhī as 'و فی الباب عن فلان' (و فی الباب عن فلان). Further, he has given correct readings (*ḍabt*) of the uncommon names and *nisbas* occurring in the *Jāmi'*.

(iii) *Risāla dar Dhikr-i-Ṭa'ām wa Shurb* (Rāmpūr, Persian MSS): a Persian treatise on the food and drink of the Prophet as described in Aḥādīth.

4. *Shaykh Ma'ṣūm b. Aḥmad al-Sirhindī* (d. 1080/1669)

He was the second son of the Mujaddid Alf-i-Thānī and a spiritual guide of Muḥiyy al-Dīn 'Alamgīr (d. 1119). He was well-versed in Hadīth literature and obtained *sanad* from Makkan Traditionists at the time of his pilgrimage to the Ḥaramayn.¹ His son Khawāja Sayf al-Dīn (d. 1098) earned for him the title of *Muḥiyy al-Sunna* or the Reviver of Sunna by dint of his life-long devotion to the cause of al-Ḥadīth.

1. *Khazīna*, Vol. I, pp. 639 seq; *Ḥadā'iq*, p. 419; *Tudhkira-i-'Ulama'*, p. 212; Bānkipūr Cat., XVI, p. 71-2; Ma'ārif, loc. cit.

Further, Shaykh Ma'sūm entrusted him with the spiritual training of 'Ālamgīr.¹

5. *Khawāja A'zam b. Sayf al-Dīn al Sirhindī*
(1066-1114/1655-1702)

He was a distinguished *Muḥaddith* and flourished during the reign of 'Ālamgīr (1069-1119/1659-1707). He read Ḥadīth with his father Sayf al-Dīn and his uncle Farrukh Shāh (d. 1112). He died at Sirhind in 1114/1702 and was buried beside the grave of his father.²

His work :—

(i) *Faid al-Bārī Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*: a commentary of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī.³

6. *Shāh Abū Sa'id b. Ṣafī 'l-Qadr al-Mujaddidī*
(1196-1250/1782-1835).

Shāh Abū Sa'id, a great-great-grandson of Saif al-Dīn, was the father of Shāh 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Mujaddidī (d. 1296). He was born at Rāmpūr in Dhū 'l-Qa'da, 1196/Oct., 1782, and read Ḥadīth with his uncle Sirāj Aḥmad and Shāh Rafī' al-Dīn al-Dihlawī (d. 1249) and Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Dihlawī (d. 1239). He finally settled down at Delhi and succeeded his preceptor Ghulām 'Alī in the spiritual hierarchy founded by Mirzā Maẓhar Jān-i-Jānān (d. 1195). He died at Tonk in Shawwal, 1250/Feb., 1835 on his return from the Haramayn and was buried in Delhi beside the Jān-i-Jānān.⁴

1. *Ḥadā'iq*, p. 424; Ma'ārif, loc. cit.

2. *Nuzha*; Ma'ārif, Vol. XXIII No. 6, p. 443.

3. *Ma'ārif al-'Awārif*, s. v. شروح البخاری

4. *Al-Yāni*; pp. 88-90; *Ḥadā'iq*, pp. 471-72; *Tadhkira 'Ulamā'*, p. 4; *Tadhkira-i-Kāmilān-i-Rāmpūr*, pp. 3-5. Muḥammad Zakariyya Kandlūwī, *Muqaddima Awjāz al-Masālik fi Sharḥ Muwaṭṭa' Mālik*, ed. Sahāranpūr, 1348 A.H., pp. 42-43.

7. *Shāh 'Abd al-Ghanī b. Abī Sa'īd al-Mujaddidi al-Dihlawī* (1235-1296/1819-1878)

Shāh 'Abd al-Ghanī was a teacher in Hadīth of Maūlānā Qāsim al-Nanūtūwī (d. 1297), the famous founder of the Dār al-'Ulūm at Deoband. He studied the *Ṣiḥāḥ Sitta* under his father on whose authority 'Abd al-Ghanī transmitted them to his pupils.¹ He also read a portion of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī with Shāh Ishāq al-Dihlawī. In 1219/1833, he accompanied his father to the Haramayn and obtained *al-Ijāza* for the *Ṣiḥāḥ Sitta* from Shaykh 'Abid al-Sindī al-Madanī (d. 1257). During the Sepoy Mutiny (1272/1857), 'Abd al-Ghanī migrated to al-Madina where he taught Hadīth literature to a crowd of pupils until his death in Muḥarram, 1296/Dec., 1878.²

His work :—

(i) *Injāḥ al-Hāja fi Sharḥ Ibn Māja* : annotations on the *Sunan* of Ibn Māja lithographed on the margin of the *Sunan* of Ibn Māja published by the 'Alimī Press at Delhi.

Section III. *Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq al-Dihlawī and his school of Muḥaddithūn* (1000-1229/1592-1814 *gap*.
Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq al-Muḥaddith al-Dihlawī
(958-1052/1551-1642)

Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq b. Sayf al-Dīn b. Sa'd Allāh al-Turkī al-Bukhārī al-Dihlawī al-Hanafī traces his descent from Aghā Muḥammad Turk (d. 739) who migrated to India from Bukhārā and rose to the rank of *Amīr* during the successive reigns of 'Alā' al-

1. His *Asānid* of the *Ṣiḥāḥ Sitta* have been preserved by Muḥsin al-Tirḥatī in his *al-Yāni 'l-Jāni* (Delhi, 1287 A.H.).

2. *Al-Yāni*, pp. 83-85; *Ḥadāiq*, p. 491; *Tadhkira-i-'Ulamā'*, p. 126; *Muqaddima Awjaz*, p. 42; *Ma'ārif*, Vol. XXII, No. 5, pp. 347-48.

Dīn Khaljī (695-715), Quṭb al-Dīn (716-20) and Tughlaq Shāh (720-25). His grandfather Shaykh Sa'd Allāh (d. 928) led a saintly life which was followed by his ('Abd al-Haqq's) father Shaykh Sayf al-Dīn (d. 990)¹ An author of several treatises on Sūfiṣm,² Sayf al-Dīn had a keen interest in Ḥadīth literature as his possession of a copy of al-Dhahabī's *al-Kāshif fī Rijāl al-Sitta* demonstrated.³

The life of Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq (b. Muḥarram, 938/January, 1551) falls under three unequal periods : (i) 963-85/1556-77, (ii) 996-1000/1588-92 and (iii) 1000-52/1592-1642. The termination of the first period synchronized with the completion of his education of Persian, Arabic, Jurisprudence and *Ma'qūlat* in Delhi. His principal teachers during the period were his father Sayf al-Dīn and several other distinguished doctors including Fuqahā' from the Transoxania settled in Delhi.⁴ As to his study of Ḥadīth literature during the period, we have no record though it may reasonably be believed that he became conversant with the subject inasmuch as his father himself had been a Traditionist of some reputation.

The second period (996-1000) he devoted exclusively to the study of Ḥadīth literature at Makka under Shaykh 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Muttaqī (d. 1010), a famous disciple and successor of 'Alī al-Muttaqī al-Burhānpūrī (d. 975).⁵ Having obtained from his Shaykh *Ijāza* for the *Siḥāḥ Sitta*, 'Abd al-Haqq gave *coup de grace* to his education in Ḥadīth. This period

1. Siddiq Hasan, *Tiqṣār*, pp. 183-84 ; Rieu, *Persian MSS.*, Vol. I. p. 14 ; JASB, XXII (1925), Hidāyat Husain, *Autobiography of Maulānā 'Abdū 'l-Haqq*, pp. 43-44.

2. Bānkīpūr Catalogue, Vol. VI, pp. 111-12.

3. This valuable MS. is in the possession of Shifā' al-Mulk Ḥakīm Ḥabīb al-Rahmān of Dacca [Ma'ārif, Vol. XXXIII, No. 2 (1934), p. 122].

4. *Akhbār*, p. 242.

5. The duration of his study with 'Abd al-Wahhāb had been near about three years [Shaykh al-Islām, *Sharḥ-i-Bukhārī*, MS. Bānkīpūr, No. 1208 (Persian MSS), fol. 26].

was a turning-point in the life of 'Abd al-Ḥaqq as it determined his future career as a Traditionist and author of great standing. It is interesting to note that prior to his taking to the study of Ḥadīth literature 'Abd al-Ḥaqq had some fascination for court-life inasmuch as he was for some time the companion, in Fatehpūr, of Faiḍī and Mirzā Nizām al-Dīn Aḥmad (d. 1003).¹ But on his return from al-Ḥijāz, he was quite a changed man preferring to anything else the solitary life of a savant and even refusing to meet his former friend Faiḍī at Lahore despite the latter's deep and repeated requests.² The third or the last period was one of compilation and giving instruction particularly in Ḥadīth literature at his *Khānqah-i Qādiriyya* in Delhi.³ He built up a big library containing among other works a rich collection of Ḥadīth literature⁴ which he evidently procured from Arabia while studying in the Ḥaramayn and from other places as well. He employed calligraphers for the transcription of rare works on al-Ḥadīth. An inscription on the MS. copy of al-Fattānī's *Majma' Biḥār al-Anwār*, of which a lithograph edition was brought out by Newul Kishore Press at Lucknow, tells us that the

1. Badā'ūnī, p. 113 = Haig, p. 167.

2. pp. 115-116 = pp. 170-171.

3. Bānkīpūr Cat. V. (2), p. 90.

4. Besides the *Ṣiḥāḥ Sitta*, the *Muwatta'* of Mālik, the Masnad of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and Ḥadīth collections of al-Ṭabrānī, al-Baihaqī, al-Dāraquṭnī and others, references of the following works are met with in his works:—al-Nawawī, *Sharḥ Ṣaḥ ḥ Muslim*, (Mā Thabata bi' l-Sunna, Lahore, 1307 A. H., pp. 18, 25, 55); al-Marzi, *Sharḥ Muslim* (ibid.), p. 66; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tabyīn al-'Ajab* (ibid. p. 71) on *Mawḍū'āt*; 'Alī al-Muttaqī, *Kanz al-'Ummāl* (ibid.), p. 6, as *al-Jāmi' al-Kabīr*; Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī, *al-Sawā'iq al-Muhriqa* (ibid., p. 6), al-Sakhāwī, *al-Maqāṣid al-Ḥasana* (ibid., p. 8); al-'Irāqī, *Tanzīḥ al-Sharī'a* (ibid., p. 9) on *Mawḍū'āt*; Ibn al-Athīr, *Jāmi' al-Uṣūl* (ib. l'passim), *al-Nihāya* (ib. p. 18) and *Sharḥ Jāmi' al-Uṣūl* (ib. p. 19); al-Kirmānī, *Sharḥ al-Bukhārī* (ib., p. 18), al-Tībī, *Sharḥ Mishkāṭ* (ib., p. 18), Qāḍī 'Iyād, *Mashāriq al-Anwār* (ib., p. 18); al-Tawrishtī, *Sharḥ al-Maṣābīḥ* (p. 19); 'Alī al-Qārī, *Mirqāt al-Mafāṭīḥ* (p. 20); Ibn Ḥajar, *Sharḥ Nukhba* (p. 28); Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt* (p. 30); al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak* (p. 32); al-Qastallānī, *Irshād al-Sārī fi Sharḥ al-Bukhārī* (p. 33); Ibn al-Athīr, *Uṣd al-Ghāba* (p. 45); Yāfi'ī, *Mir'at al-Janān* (p. 68); Ibn Ḥajar, *Fath al-Bārī (Ashi' at al-Lam'āt*, Lucknow, 1913, vol. I, p. 11) etc.

copy of the manuscript had been transcribed in 1019/1610 for the use of Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq al-Muḥaddith al-Dihlawī.¹ It was during this period that he was at the height of his fame as a *Muḥaddith* as well as a personage of great sanctity so much so that even the Emperor Shāh Jahān felt called upon to pay homage to him and seek his benediction on the eve of his departure from Delhi to Kashmir in 1028/1619.² He died at Delhi in 1052/1642 and was buried in the Hawḍ-i-Shamsī in the tomb which he had himself built.³

Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq al-Dihlawī was a prolific author producing over a hundred books on Ḥadīth, Taṣawwuf, History and Biography⁴ of which 13 have been noticed by Brockelmann.⁵ Here is a list of his compilations on Ḥadīth literature:

(i) *Al-Tariq al-Qawim fi Sharḥ al-Sirāt al-Mustaḳim* [published].⁶ This is a Persian commentary of al-Firūzābādī's *Sifr al-Sa'āda* also known as *al-Sirāt al-Mustaḳim*, a collection of authentic Traditions relating to the life, character, practices and moral teachings of the Prophet Muḥammad (on him be peace and blessings of Allāh). The commentary which was completed at Delhi on Jumādā I 24, 1016/September,

1. Al-Fattānī, *Majma' Biḥār* (Newul Kishore, 1314), Vol. III, p. 551.

2. *Tuzak-i-Jahāngiri* (London, 1909) p. 16.

3. *Akhhār*, autobiography, p. 290 seq.; Badā'ūnī, pp. 113-17 = Haig, pp. 167-72; 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Lahūrī, *I'ādschāh Nāma* (Biblo. Indica, 1867), vol. I, pp. 341-42; *Subḥut*, p. 51; *Ma'thar* pp. 200-01; *Hadā'iq*, pp. 409-12; *Khaṣṣna*, Vol. I, p. 164; *Ithāf*, pp. 303-04; Sayyid Aḥmad Khān, *Athār al-Sanādīd* (Cawnpur, 1904) p. 63; T. 'Ulama', pp. 109-10; *Nuzha*, v, s v 'Abd al-Haqq b. Saif al-Dīn al-Dihlawī; Qasim Nāgūrī, *Sharḥ Muqaddimat al-Dihlawī*, ed. Calcutta; Ma'ārif, Vol. XXII, No. 4, pp. 267-68; Elliot, Vol. VI, p. 175; JRASB, XXII (1926); pp. 43-44; *Ency. of Islām*, Vol. I, p. 39; Rieu, Vol. I, p. 14a; Bānkīpūr Cat. i, p. 490; Storey, Vol. II, p. 194.

4. JRASB, XXII (1916), pp. 43-60.

5. Sup. i, p. 603.

6. For MSS. copies, Bānkīpūr, XIV, No. 1186; India Office, No. 2657; Rieu, Vol. I, pp. 14-15.

1607, was published from Lucknow in 1885. It opens with a *Muqaddima* (introduction), divided into two parts of which the first treats of the science of Traditions and authentic collections and the second, of the Imāms of the *Madhāhib Arba'*. The commentator has translated the Arabic texts with necessary explanations here and there. The value of the commentary has been enhanced by the addition to it of a good number of genuine Aḥādīth which had either been omitted or rejected as weak by al-Firūzābādī, Zāhirite that he was. The sources from which our Muḥaddith derives his informations have been given in the preface¹.

(ii) *Ashī'at al-Lam'at fi al-Mishkāt*, a popular and compendious Persian commentary of the *Mishkāt al-Maṣābiḥ* published in five volumes by Newul Kishore Press at Lucknow in 1913-15². Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq al-Muḥaddith al-Dihlawī began the work in the middle of 1019/1610³ and completed it at Delhi by 1029/1620⁴. As our *Muḥaddith* puts it, the reason for the slow progress in the compilation of the *Ashī'at* was that he started writing down two Commentaries of the *Mishkāt* simultaneously, the one in Persian as referred to above and the other in Arabic, entitled *al-Lam'at* (q.v.) which was taken up on Dhū'l-Ḥijja, 13, 1019/February, 1611, and finished on Rabi' I, 24, 1025/March, 1616.⁵

Like the *Sharḥ Sifr al-Sa'ada*, the *Ashī'at al-Lam'at* begins with a *Muqaddima* divided into two parts of which the first has been devoted to a short but very useful discourse on *Iṣṭalāḥāt al-Ḥadīth* or the

1. JRASB, p. 47 No. 11; *Fihrist-i-Muṣannifin-i-Dihli*, pp. 3 sq.; Bānkīpūr Cat., XIV, pp. 46-47; Rieu, loc. cit.

2. For MSS. copies, Bankipore, XIV, 1193-94; Aṣaffiyya, Vol. I, p. 83. Etche, No. 2654; Rieu, Vol. I, pp. 14-15

3. *Ashī'at*, ed. Newul Kishor, Vol. I, p. 1; Bānkīpūr Cat. XIV, pp. 52-53.

4. *Fihrist-i-Muṣannifin*, loc. cit.

5. *Ashī'at*, loc. cit.; Bānkīpūr Cat. V (2), p. 90.

Technique of the Science of Tradition, and the second, to the authors of the *Ṣiḥāḥ Sitta* and nine other doctors of Ḥadīth, viz., Mālik, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, al-Shāfi'ī, al-Dāraqutnī, al-Baiḥaqī, Razīn al-'Abdī, al-Nawawī and Ibn al-Jawzī. In the main body of the *Ashī'at*, the author has reproduced in Persian the entire text of the *Mishkāṭ* piecemeal and elucidated the Traditions and the questions having bearing on *Madhāhib Arba'*.

(iii) *Lam'āt al-Taṇqīḥ fī Sharḥ Mishkāṭ al-Maṣābiḥ* (Bānkīpūr Nos. 361-62, Aṣafīyya Nos. 83, 301-02 & 603). In this Arabic Commentary of the *Mishkāṭ*, the discussions on theological and juridical problems have been more elaborate than those in the *Ashī'at* although the fact remains that the *Lam'āt* is shorter in bulk than the *Ashī'at*, the former containing 80,000 lines while the latter 130,000¹ lines. This is because of the fact that much of the space of the *Ashī'at* has been taken up by its Persian translation of the original Arabic text. The *Muqaddima* of the *Lam'āt*, which is identical with that of the *Ashī'at*, has been published in the beginning of the Indian editions of the *Mishkāṭ al-Maṣābiḥ* and with which every student of Ḥadīth literature is pretty familiar².

(iv) *Al-Ikmāl fī Asmā' al-Rijāl* (Bānkīpūr, No. 732; Dār al-'Ulūm, Peshawar³): a biographical work on the *Ruwāt* mentioned in the *Mishkāṭ al-Maṣābiḥ*. It was compiled after the completion of the *Lam'āt*. The main body of the work which has been arranged

1. JRASB, loc. cit.

2. The Arabic *Muqaddima* with an Urdū commentary has been published at Calcutta in 1927 by Qāsim Nāgūrī under the title of *Sharḥ Muqaddimat al-Dihlawī* and recently in 1357 A.H. a lithograph edition of the *Muqaddima* together with copious marginal notes in Arabic entitled *al-Hawāshī al-Sa'dī* was brought out in Calcutta by Muḥammad 'Amīm al-Ḥsān, a teacher of Madrasa-i-'Āliya. The Persian *Muqaddima* i.e. of the *Ashī'at*, has been published at Jawnpūr in 1305, 1887.

3. *Vide* Catalogue, p. 61.

alphabetically is preceded by short life-sketches of the four *Khulafā' Rāshidīn* and the wives and the descendants of the Prophet. The alphabetical series begin with Abū 'l-Laḥam and ends in Yāsira. There is also an appendix (*Tadhyīl*) comprising of the notices of several eminent Traditionists beginning with Imām Mālik and ending with al-Ṭahāwī.¹

(v) *Jāmi' al-Barakāt Muntakhab Sharḥ al-Mishkāt*. In this book, the author selected from every *bāb* of the *Mishkāt* one or two Aḥādīth and then made a scholarly discussion in Persian on the substance of the rest. Its bulk was 32,000 lines.²

(vi) *Mā thabata bi'l-Sunna fi Ayyām al-Sana* [published]: a collection of Traditions of all categories, viz., *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *Ḥasan*, *Da'if* and *Mawḍū'* dealing with prayers, fasting and other religious observances connected with each of the twelve months of the year, their days and nights. He has, in this book, considered every rite that has been sanctioned by genuine Aḥādīth to be valid and the rites which have not been so sanctioned, have been rejected as invalid. The biographical sketch of the Prophet claims the major portion of the space devoted to the month of Rabi' I, while the martyrdom of Imām Husain claims the major portion of the space devoted to the month of Muḥarram. On the whole, this treatise is a supplement to one of the Persian books of the author which dealt with the controversies between the Traditionists and the Sūfīs in respect of the rites to be observed in each month of the year together with his own verdict as to their validity or otherwise. The *Mā thabata* was published in Calcutta in 1253/1837 and at Lahore in 1307/1889.³

1. Bānkīpūr Cat. XII. pp 69-70.

2. JRASB, No. 4.

3. For MSS. copies, see Bānkīpūr, V (2), No. 404; Rāmpūr, i, Nos. 318-20.

(vii) *Al-Aḥādith al-Arba'in fī Abwāb 'Ulūm al-Dīn* : a treatise of 40 Traditions about religious learning.¹

(viii) *Tarjumat al-Aḥādith al-Arba'in* : a Persian translation of forty Aḥādith concerning admonitions to the kings and emperors.²

(ix) *Dastur Faiḍ al-Nur* (Ethe, India Office, No. 2658 ; ASB No. 1004) : a Persian treatise on the Prophet's dress based on Traditions. It is identical with the title of the tract styled *Risāla dar Adab-i-Libās* noticed in the Berlin Catalogue.³

(x) *Dhikr Ijāzat al-Ḥadīth fī 'l-Qadīm wa 'l-Ḥadīth*.⁴ It is stated that Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq as a transmitter of al-Ḥadīth. al-Ḥaqq al-Muḥaddith al-Dihlawī was the pioneer of Ḥadīth learning in India⁵—a statement which has, to our mind, no basis.⁶ The truth is that al-Ḥadīth had been introduced all over India at least a century before 'Abd al-Ḥaqq, by Traditionists whom we have already noticed in the foregoing pages. But it must be said to 'Abd al-Ḥaqq's credit that it was his life-long devotion to the cause of the Science that it became so popular in Northern India. This was not all. He was responsible for the production of a long line of Traditionists who handed on the torch of the *Sunna* from generation to generation. Undoubtedly this was by itself a grand achievement to which his older contemporary Shaykh Aḥmad al-Sirhindī also contributed⁷.

Two groups of *Muḥaddithūn* were turned out from the seminary of 'Abd al-Ḥaqq : the one comprising the

1. JRASB, No. 21.

2. JRASB, No. 22.

3. Ethe, loc. cit.

4. JRASB, No. 7.

5. Ma'ārif, loc. cit. ; *Yād-i-Ayyām*, p. 29.

6. Cf. *Yād-i-Ayyām*, pp. 29-30.

7. *Supra*, pp. 140 seq.

members of his house and the other, his own disciples together with the disciples of the Traditionists of his house.

GROUP A. TRADITIONISTS OF THE HOUSE OF
'ABD AL-HAQQ.

1. *Shaykh Nur al-Haqq b. 'Abd al-Haqq al-Mashriqī al-Muḥaddith al-Dihlawī* (983-1073/1575-1662).

An accomplished Traditionist, jurist and historian, Nūr al-Haqq was a famous disciple of his own father Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq and the author of the *Zubdat al-Tawārikh*, a general history of India commencing from Mu'izz al-Dīn b. Sam commonly known as Muḥammad Ghūrī (570-602/1175-1206), to the accession of Jahāngir, (1014/1605), of which a part has been incorporated by Elliot into the sixth volume of his *History of India*. Nūr al-Haqq was said to have worked all through his life for the cause of Hadith literature. In recognition of his scholarship Emperor Shāh Jahān (1037-69/1628-59) appointed him *Qāḍī* of Akbarābād which office he long held with credit. He died at Delhi in 1073/1662 at the age of ninety.¹

His works :—

(i) *Taysīr al-Qārī fī Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, a compendious Persian commentary of al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* published in five volumes by the 'Alawī Press, Lucknow, 1305/1887.²

(ii) *Sharḥ Shamā'il al-Nabī* (Rāmpūr, No. 194), a Persian commentary of al-Tirmidhī's *Shamā'il al-Nabī*.

1. *Subḥat*, p. 53 ; *Ma'thar*, p. 201 ; *Ḥadā'iq*, p. 418 ; *Khasāna*, Vol. I, p. 989 ; *T. 'Ulamā'*, p. 346 ; *Ma'arif*, Vol. XXII, No. 4, p. 258-268 ; Elliot, Vol. VI, p. 182 ; Rieu, *Persian MSS.*, Vol. I, p. 224 ; Ethe, *India Office Catalogue*, No. 290 ; *Bānkīpūr Catalogue*, XIV, p. 54.

2. *Ma'arif*, loc. cit. For its MSS. copies, see Ethe, No. 2659 ; *Bānkīpūr*, Nos. 1195-99.

2. *Al-Ḥāfiẓ ‘Abd al-Ṣamad Fakhr al-Dīn b. Muḥibb Allāh b. Nūr Allāh b. Nūr al-Ḥaqq* (d. circ. 1150).

He was the great-great-grandson of Shaykh Nūr al-Ḥaqq¹ and received instructions in the *Ṣiḥāḥ Sitta* from his father Shaykh Muḥibb Allāh who, in his turn, read them with his grandfather Nūr al-Ḥaqq. Fakhr al-Dīn completed his father's Persian commentary upon the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim entitled *Manba‘ al-‘Ilm fī Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* (Bānkīpūr, No. 1207 ; ASB. No. 1007). In the preface of this work, Fakhr al-Dīn says that his father wrote it towards the end of his life and could not find time to revise it and that he revised the commentary and improved upon it by making suitable additions and alterations. In this rescension of the *Manba‘ al-‘Ilm*, Fakhr al-Dīn utilized the compilations of his great-great-grandfather Shaykh ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Muḥaddith al-Dihlawī.²

(ii) *Sharḥ ‘Ayn al-‘Ilm* (Bānkīpūr, No. 1390). This is a Persian commentary of Muḥammad b. ‘Uthmān al-Balkhī's *‘Ayn al-‘Ilm*,³ a work on asceticism based on the Qur’ān and al-Ḥadīth. The Commentator says in the preface that the Arabic original of the *‘Ayn al-‘Ilm* being very difficult and not accessible to Persian students, he wrote the present commentary with the help of al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyā’ ‘Ulūm al-Dīn*

1. The statement of ‘Abd al-Muqtadir (Bānkīpūr, XIV, p. 62 also Ma‘ārif, Vol. XXII No. 4, pp. 268-69) that Fakhr al-Dīn was a son of Shaykh Nūr al-Ḥaqq, is not correct as it is clear from a genealogy given by Shaykh al-Islām b. Fakhr al-Dīn (q. v.) in the preface of his *Sharḥ-i-Bukhārī* (MS. Bānkīpūr, No. 1208, fol. 27a (sic.)

فخر الدين بن محبوب الله بن نور الله بن نور الحق بن عبدالحق
also *Nuzha*, vi, s. v. Shaykh al-Islām b. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Dihlawī and as such the ascription of the *Manba‘ al-‘Ilm* to Nūr al-Ḥaqq is a further mistake.

2. Bānkīpūr Catalogue, XIV, pp. 61-62 with necessary alterations in the light of the genealogy given above, n. 1.

3. Al-Balkhī was an Indian scholar (Loth. op. cit., p. 190 cf. Hājī Khalīfa, IV, p. 282). For copies of his *‘Ayn al-‘Ilm*, see Loth. Nos. 680-2 ; Bānkīpūr, No. 1353 (Arabic Hand-list, Vol. I).

of which the '*Ayn al-'Ilm* itself was a selection. He has introduced the passages from the Qur'ān and al-Hadīth under the abbreviations of **ق** and **ح** respectively. The names of the transmitting *Ṣaḥāba* together with the works in which the Traditions occur have been mentioned.¹ The work is divided into a *Muqaddima*, twenty *Bābs* and a *Khātima*.²

(iii) *Sharḥ-i-Ḥiṣn Ḥaṣīn*, a Persian commentary of al-Jazarī's *Ḥiṣn Ḥaṣīn*.³

3. *Shaykh al-Islām b. Ḥāfiẓ Fakhr al-Dīn*
(d. circ. 1180).

He was a famous pupil of his father al-Ḥāfiẓ Fakhr al-Dīn and had *Ijāza* for the *Ṣiḥāḥ Sitta* and other Hadīth works from the latter.⁴ He flourished in Shāhjahānābād during the reign of Muḥammad Shāh (1131-61/1715-48) when the invasion of Nādir Shāh took place.⁵ Shaykh al-Islām was a contemporary of Shāh Walī Allāh al-Dihlawī (d. 1173).

His works :—

(i) *Sharḥ-i-Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, a Persian commentary of al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* published at Lucknow in 1305/1887 on the margin of Nūr al-Haqq's *Taysīr al-Qārī* under the title of *Sharḥ-i-Shaykh al-Islām*.⁶

The commentator has discussed in the preface (foll. 1-29, Bānkīpūr MS.) *Iṣṭalāḥāt-al-Ḥadīth* or the Technique of the Science of Tradition, the soundness and otherwise of the *Ruwāt*, a short life-sketch of al-

1. Cf. Bānkīpūr MS. No. 1390.

2. For contents of the work, see Bānkīpūr Cat. XVI, pp. 68-69.

3. *Ḥadā'iq*, p. 468.

4. *Vide* his *Sharḥ Bukhārī* (MS Bānkīpūr) foll. 26b, 27a; *Nuzḥa*, Vol. VI, loc. cit. : *Ḥadā'iq* loc. cit.

5. Bānkīpūr, Cat., XIV, pp. 62-63; Ma'ārif, Vol. XXII, No. 4, p. 269.

6. Bānkīpūr, XIV, p. 62; Ma'ārif, Vol. XXII, No. 4, p. 269. For MS copy of the work, see Bānkīpūr Nos. 1208-09.

Imām al-Bukhārī, the occasion that led him to compile his *Ṣaḥīḥ*, its place among the compilations on al-Ḥadīth, its *tarājim al-abwāb*, *Ta'liqāt* and other relevant points. Further, he has traced therein his own *Sanad* up to Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq (foll. 26-27) thus :

شيخ الاسلام عن ابيه الحافظ فخر الدين عن ابيه محب الله بن نور الله عن جده
نور الحق عن ابيه شيخ المحدثين الشيخ عبدالحق المحدث الدهلوى -

In compiling his work, Shaykh al-Islām has utilized, among other works, al-Nawawī's *Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* (fol. 18), Ibn Hajar's *Fath al-Bārī* (fol. 27), 'Abd al-Ḥaqq's Commentaries on the *Mishkāṭ* (foll. 1 seq.) and Nūr al-Ḥaqq's *Taysīr al-Qārī*.

(ii) *Risāla Kashf al-Ghiṭā' Ammā Lazima li'l-Mawṭā 'Alā l-'Aḥyā'*.

(iii) *Risāla Tard al-Awhām 'an Āthār al-Imām al-Humām*.¹

4. *Salām Allāh b. Shaykh al-Islām al-Muḥaddith al-Rāmpūrī* (d. 1229/1814).

Salām Allāh, a contemporary of Sirāj Aḥmad al-Sirhindī (d. 1220) and 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Dihlawī (d. 1235), appears to be the last luminary of the house of Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Dihlawī. He moved from Delhi to Rāmpūr and became famous as *Muḥaddith-i-Rāmpūrī*. He learnt the science of Tradition from his own father, Shaykh al-Islām and ably carried on the culture and cultivation of Ḥadīth learning, the proud heritage of his forefathers, as his following works show. He died at Rāmpūr in Jumādā II, 1229/1814 or 1233/1818.²

1. *Ḥadā'iq*, p. 468.

2. *Ḥadā'iq*, p. 468; *Tadhkira-i-'Ulamā'*, p. 74; Ma'ārif, Vol. XXII No. 4, p. 269; *Tadhkira-i-Kāmilān-i-Rāmpūr*, p. 159.

(i) *Al-Muḥallā bi Asrār al-Muwattaʿa* (Bānkīpūr No. 127 Traditions).¹ It is an Arabic commentary of the *Muwattaʿa* of Imām Mālik (d. 179) devoted chiefly to juridical problems (*masāʾil-i-fiqhīyya*) and the differences thereof among the *Madhāhib Arbaʿ*.² The author says in the *Muqaddima* which opens with a short life-sketch of al-Imām Mālik and a critical estimation of the *Muwattaʿa*, that he wrote the present work in order to supply the long-felt need for a commentary of the *Muwattaʿa* in this country, Zurqānī's *Sharḥ* not being extant here, and that till his time no Indian Traditionist did comment on this important Ḥadīth work.³ The *Muḥallā* was compiled at Rāmpūr in 1215/1800.⁴ It appears that the author had no access to the commentaries on the *Muwattaʿa* by Yaʿqūb al-Lāhūrī (d. 1098)⁵ and Shāh Walī Allāh al-Dihlawī (d. 1176)⁶ written in India before him.

(ii) *Tarjuma-i-Fārsī Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*.

(iii) *Tarjuma-i-Fārsī Shamāʾil al-Nabī*.

(iv) *Risāla fī Uṣūl al-Ḥadīth*, a treatise on Uṣūl al-Ḥadīth in Arabic.⁷

5. Shaykh Sayf Allāh b. Nūr Allāh b. Nūr al-Ḥaqq al-Bukhārī al-Dihlawī.

Sayf Allāh, a grandson of Shaykh Nūr al-Ḥaqq was equally versatile in Jurisprudence and Tradition.

1. The Bānkīpūr MS. is incomplete ending in a portion of *Kitāb al-Ḥajj* [op cit., Vol. V (1), p. 8]. The State Library of Rāmpūr has a complete MS. of the *Muḥallā Tadḥkira Kāmilān-i-Rāmpūr*, p. 159). The Library of Tonk possesses a complete work whereas the Library of Maḡāhir al-ʿUlūm Madrasa at Sahāranpūr has only the second half of the work *Muqaddima Awjaz al-Masālik*, p. 33).

2. Bānkīpūr, Catalogue V. part I, pp. 8-9.

3. Maʿārif, December, 1942, pp. 421-22.

4. Bānkīpūr, V. (1), p. 9.

5. *Infra*, p. 165.

6. *Infra*, p. 177.

7. *Ḥadāʾiq*, loc. cit.

He prepared a commentary on the *Shamā'il al-Nabī* entitled *Ashraf al-Wasā'il fī Sharḥ al-Shamā'il* in 1091/1680 during the reign of 'Ālamgīr (1069-1119/1659-1707).¹

GROUP B. DISCIPLES OF 'ABD AL-ḤAQQ AND OF HIS DESCENDANTS

1. *Khawāja Khawānd Mu'in al-Dīn* (d. 1085/1674).

A son of Khawāja Khawānd Maḥmūd al-Naqshbandī (d. 1052) of Kashmīr,² Mu'in al-Dīn studied al-Ḥadīth, al-Tafsīr and al-Fiqh under Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Dihlawī. He flourished in the 11th century and died in Kashmīr in 1085/1674.³

2. *Khawāja Ḥaydar Patlū b. Firūz al-Kashmīrī* (d. 1057/1647).

He first learnt al-Ḥadīth in his native province Kashmīr from Bābā Jawāhir Nāth al-Kashmīrī (d. 1026), a pupil of Ibn Ijājar al-Haythamī.⁴ Then he joined the School of Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq at Delhi and completed his education of Ḥadīth literature. The Governor of Kashmīr repeatedly offered him the office of Qāḍī but he refused to accept it preferring, as he did, the life of a saint to anything else. He died in Kashmīr in 1057/1647.⁵

3. *Bābā Dāwūd al-Mishkāti al-Kashmīrī* (d. 1097/1685)

In al-Ḥadīth he was a pupil of Ḥaydar al-Kashmīrī (d. 1057) and in al-Taṣawwūf of Khawānd

1. *Nuzha*, VI, s.v. Sayf Allāh al-Bukhārī.

2. For Khawānd Maḥmūd, see *Tārikh-i-Kashmīr*, p. 138.

3. *Khazīna*, Vol. I, p. 643; Ḥadā'iq, 421; *Tadhkira-i-'Ulamā'* p. 229; Ma'ārif, p. 269.

4. *Tārikh-i-Kashmīr*, pp. 103-04.

5. Ibid, p. 143; *Ḥadā'iq*, pp. 408-09; *Asyār al-Abrār*, (MS. Dār al-Muṣannifin) quoted in Ma'ārif, p. 269; *Tadhkira-i-'Ulamā'*, p. 54.

Maḥmūd (d. 1052). He was called *Miskhatī* because he had committed to memory the entire *Mishkāt al-Maṣābiḥ*. He was the author of the *Asrār al-Abrār*, on the biography of the *Mashā'ikh* of Kashmīr, a MS. copy of which is in the library of Dār al-Muṣannifīn at Aḏamgarh in the United Provinces. He died at Kashmīr in 1097/1685.¹

4. *Shaykh 'Ināyat Allah Shāl-i-Kashmīrī* (d. 1185/1713).

He was a pupil of a son of Khawāja Ḥaydar and a famous teacher of Kashmīr. He taught the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī as many as thirty-six times from beginning to end and died in Sha'bān, 1125/1713 at the age of sixty-eight.²

5. *Mīr Sayyid Mubārak Bilgrāmī* (1033-1115/1624-1703).

Mubārak al-Husaynī al-Wāsiṭī al-Bilgrāmī, who belonged to the ancient family of the Wāsiṭī Sayyids settled since 614/1217 at Bilgram³ in the district of Hardoi in the United Provinces,⁴ was a pupil of Shaykh Nūr al-Ḥaqq b. 'Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Dihlawī. While a student at Delhi he resided in the home of his teacher and thus came into an intimate contact with him. In 1064/1654, he obtained a *Sanad* from Nūr al-Ḥaqq and since then he worked indefatigably for the spread of Ḥadīth learning at Bilgrām until he died in Raḥī' I, 1115/July, 1703. He was born in Sha'bān, 1033/May, 1624. For his deep erudition in the

1. *Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr*, p. 176; *Ḥadā'iq*, pp. 423-24; Khazīna, Vol. I, *Tadhkira-i-'Ulamā'*, p. 60; Ma'ārif, p. 270.

2. *Ḥadā'iq*, p. 435; *Tadhkira-i-'Ulamā'*, p. 152; Ma'ārif, Vol. XXII, No. 6, p. 333.

3. JRSB, Vol. XXII, 1936, p. 119 n. 1.

4. *Imp. Gazetteer*, Vol. VIII, p. 235.

Science of Tradition, Mīr Mubārak earned the title of *Qūṭb al-Muḥaddithīn*.¹

The School of Mubārak at Bilgrām produced, among others, two noted scholars of Ḥadīth, viz., Sayyids Muḥammad Fayḍ b. Ṣādiq al-Bilgrāmī and 'Abd al-Jalīl al-Bilgrāmī. The first, a hereditary zamīndār of Bilgrām, made a Persian translation of the *Shamā'ul al-Nabī* and the *Ḥiṣn Ḥaṣīn*.² He died in 1130/1716.³

6. *Mīr 'Abd al-Jalīl al-Bilgrāmī* (1071-1138/1660-1725).⁴

'Abd al-Jalīl b. Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī al-Wasiṭi al-Bilgrāmī, who was the maternal grandfather of our Azād al-Bilgrāmī, was a man of great culture and learning. He read al-Ḥadīth with Mīr Mubārak and also with Mīr Sa'd Allāh (d. 1119),⁵ Mīr Ṭufayl (d. 1151) of Bilgrām and Ghulām Naqshband (d. 1126)⁶ of Lucknow. 'Abd al-Jalīl was a *Muḥaddith* well-versed in *Asmā' al-Rijāl*, and committed to memory a good number of Aḥādīth along with their *isnād*.⁷ His love for Ḥadīth works may be gauged from the fact that even on relinquishing his office of Bakhshī and Waqā'i-Nigār (Paymaster and News-writer)⁸ at

1. *Ma'thir al-Kirām*, p. 94; *T.-'Ulamā'*, p. 174; *Ḥayāt-i-Jalīl*, Vol. I, p. 144, n. 124; *Ma'ārif*, Vol. XXII, No. 5, p. 270.

2. *Ma'ārif al-'Awārif*, s.v. *شرح حصن حصين* and *شرح الشمائل*.

3. *Ḥayāt-i-Jalīl* Vol. I, p. 149, n. 129.

4. On his detailed biography, vide Maqbūl Aḥmad Ṣamdānī's *Ḥayāt-i-Jalīl*, Vols. I-II (Allāhābād, 1929).

5. He died at Aḥmadābād while a teacher in the Madrasa of Nūr al-Dīn at Aḥmadābād (q.v. infra, p. 169).—*Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 143, n. 121.

6. *Ibid*, n. 123.

7. *Ibid*, pp. 145, 160-61.

8. He was Bakhshī and Waqā'-i-Nigār first in Gujarāt and then in Bhakkar and Swiistan under Awrangzīb (1069-1119) and the later Mughal Emperors from 1120/1708 to 1126/1714 — *Ibid*, p. 230 seq.

Bhakkar in 1126/1714,¹ he stopped on his way home with all his retinue at Nawshahar in Sind, for six long months with a view to comparing and correcting the copy of al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* which he had already transcribed at Bhakkar.² His teacher Mīr Mubārak gave him *Ijāza* in the form of a pamphlet which the latter preserved in his library.³ 'Abd al-Jalīl died at Delhi in Rabī' I, 1138/October, 1725.⁴

7. *Mīr Azād Bilgrāmī* (1116-1200/1704-85).

Born at Maydānpūra, a locality in Bilgrām, on the 25th of Ṣafar, 1116/May, 1704, Ghulām 'Alī Azād b. Nūḥ al-Ḥusaynī al-Wāsiṭī al-Hanafī al-Bilgrāmī, after receiving *sanad* in al-Hadīth from his maternal grandfather, set out in 1151-1738 for al-Ḥijāz and stayed there for two years in the course of which he read al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* with Shaykh Hayāt al-Sindī (d. 1163) at al-Madīna and some other Hadīth works with 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Taṭṭawī (d. 1157) at Makka. Shaykh Hayāt granted him *Ijāza* for the *Ṣiḥāḥ Sitta*. Azād died at Awrangābād in 1200/1785 at the age of eighty-four.⁵

Mīr Azād Bilgrāmī is a famous author of history, biography and criticism of Persian poetry.⁶ The following works of his will reveal to us his attainments as a Traditionist :—

1. Ibid., p. 248.

2. Ibid., pp. 167-69.

3. Ibid., pp. 172-73.

4. Ibid., pp. 271-72. Notices of his biography will also be found in *Ḥadā'iq*, p. 437; *Ma'thar al-Kirām*, pp. 257-77; *Sarw-i-Azād*, p. 253 s.v.; *T. 'Ulamā*, pp. 108-09; *Ma'ārit*, Vol. XXII, No. 5, p. 270; Rieu, *Persian Cat.*, Vol. III, p. 963; JRASB, p. 119, n. 5.

5. *Subḥat*, autobiography, pp. 118-23; *Ma'thar*, autobiography, pp. 161-64; *Sarw-i-Azād*, autobiography, pp. 118-23; *Khizāna-i-'Amira*, autobiography, pp. 123-26; *Ḥadā'iq*, pp. 445-46; *Ma'ārit*, pp. 270-71; *Ithāf*, p. 303; *T. 'Ulamā*, pp. 154-56; Rieu, *Persian Cat.*, Vol. I, p. 373a; Bānkīpur, Vol. III, pp. 252-53; *Muslim Review*, Calcutta, 1926, No. 2, pp. 25-36.

6. Brockelmann, Suppl. I, p. 601.

(i) *Daw' al-Dārī Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*: a commentary of the *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* up to *Kitāb-al-Zakāt* based on Qaṣṭallānī's *Irshād al-Sārī*. Nawwāb Ṣiddīq Ḥasan Khān notices the work in his *Ithāf al-Nubalā'*.¹

(ii) *Shamāmat al-'Anbar fī mā warada fī 'l-Hind min Sayyid al-Bashar*. The author collects in this work all the Traditions of the Prophet referring to India.²

(iii) *Subḥat al-Marjān fī Āthār Hindustān*: [published at Bombay in 1303 A.H.] The introduction of this book dwells on al-Ḥadīth and the verses of the Qur'ān as have bearings on India.

(iv) *Sanad al-Sa'āda fī Ḥusn Khātimat-al-Sādāt*. [published at Bombay]: on the excellences of *Ahl-i-Bayt*. In this Persian treatise, the author has shown from Aḥādīth and the sayings of some eminent saints that the end of the descendants of the Prophet will be good and that their entry into Paradise is pretty sure.³

Section IV. Traditionists who Flourished from the Middle of the 11th to the Middle of the 12th Century A.H.

1. Muḥammad Ṣiddīq b. Sharīf (d. circ. 1040/1630)

He was a Muḥaddith of the eleventh century A.H. He died after the year 1032/1623 when he completed his *Sharḥ al-Zawājir*. His biographical notices are not available. Muḥammad Ṣiddīq is the author of a commentary of the *Mishkāṭ al-Maṣābiḥ* entitled *Nujūm al-Mishkāṭ* (Bānkīpūr, No. 363 Tradition) in which theological questions have been elucidat-

1. Pp. 56, 107; *Subḥat*, p. 122.

2. Brockelmann, loc. cit; Aṣaffiyya, Nos. 853, 857, 859.

3. JRASB, p. 127.

ed at some length.¹

2. *Shaykh Husain al-Husaynī al-Harawī*
(d. circ. 1045/1635).

He flourished in the first half of the 11th century A.H. and compiled commentaries on the *Shamā'il al-Nabī* in Persian, of which the one called *Sharḥ al-Shamā'il* was written for Prince Salīm b. Akbar (b. 976 d. 1037) and the other called *Naẓm al-Shamā'il* for Prince Murād b. Akbar (b. 978 d. 1007). Ḥakīm 'Abd al-Hayy Nadawī who personally read these two books spoke highly of them.²

3. *Sayyid Ja'far Badr-i-'Ālam*
(1023-1085/1614-75).

Ja'far b. Jalāl b. Muḥammad al-Husaynī al-Bukhārī better known as *Badr-i-'Ālam*, 'the Moon of the World,' was a descendant of the famous saint of Uchh, Makhdūm-i-Jahāniyān, Sayyid Jalāl al-Bukhārī (d. 785). His father, Sayyid Jalāl Maqṣūd-i-'Ālam (d. 1059) who held a *Manṣab* of six thousand horses under Emperor Jahāngīr (1014-37/1605-28), was an eminent scholar of Islamic learning.³ Ja'far was born at Aḥmadābād on Sha'bān 12, 1023/September, 1614. He read with his father and became an accomplished scholar and a specialist in al-Ḥadīth and Tafsīr. He used to copy out the manuscripts himself, and was a quick copyist, so much so that in fifty-four hours he would complete the whole of the Qur'ān. He refused a Governorship offered by the Emperor Jahāngīr him-

1. A MS. copy of the *Nujūm al-Mishkāt* is available in the library of Dār al-'Ulūm at Lucknow. Cf. *Ma'ārif al-'Awārif* s.v.

2. *Nuṣṣa*, Vol. VI, s.v. Ḥusayn al-Harawī.

3. For Maqṣūd-i-'Ālam, see Supplement to the *Mir'at-i-Aḥmādī*, Eng. tr. by Nawāb 'Alī and Seddon (Baroda, 1924), pp. 43-44.

self. He died on Dhū'l-Ḥijja 9, 1085/March, 1675 and was buried at Aḥmadābād by the side of his father.¹

His works :—

(i) *Al-Faiḍ al-Tārī fī Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* (Aṣafiyya I, No. 433-4, Traditions): an Arabic commentary on the Ṣaḥīḥ of al-Bukhārī in two volumes.

(ii) *Rawḍat al-Shāh*: This work consisted of as many as twenty-four volumes of which the first dealt with memoirs of the saints and the last four, with Traditionists and commentators of the Qur'ān.²

4. *Abū'l-Majd Maḥbūb-i-'Ālam b. Ja'far Badr-i-'Ālam* (1047-1111/1637-99).

Born at Aḥmadābād on Rabi' I 30, 1047/July, 1637, Maḥbūb-i-'Ālam (the Beloved of the World) read with his father, Ja'far Badr-i-'Ālam and some other distinguished Professors of Gujarāt. Besides his works on al-Ḥadīth noted below, he compiled two commentaries of the Qur'ān, one in Arabic and the other in Persian. The latter was unique in this that it had been based on Traditions, handed down by the *Ahl-i-Bayt*. He died at Aḥmadābād in Jumādā II, 1111/November, 1699.³

His work :—

Zīnat al-Nukāt fī Sharḥ al-Mishkāṭ: The author embodied in this commentary the views of the principal Schools of Jurisprudence.⁴

5. *Shaykh Ya'qūb al-Bannānī al-Lāhūrī*
(d. 1098/1687).

Shaykh Ya'qūb, surnamed Abū Yūsuf, was born

1. Ibid, p. 44; *Tadhkira-i-'Ulamā'*, p. 216.

2. Ibid.

3. Supp. *Mir'at-i-Aḥmadī*, pp. 44-46; *Yād-i-Ayyām*, p. 61 s.v. Md. Raḍawī; *Nuzha*, vol. VI, s.v. Md. b. Ja'far al-Kujrātī; *T. 'Ulamā'* pp. 214-15.

4. *Mā'ārif al-'Awārif*, s.v. المشكوة - شرح; *T. 'Ulamā'*; p. 215.

and educated at Lahore. An accomplished Traditionist and philosopher, Abū Yūsuf was a professor in Madrasa-i-Shāhjahāniyya in Delhi and subsequently accepted the office of the Mīr-i-ʿĀdil under Shāh Jahān (1037-69) and was elevated to the position of the Nāzir-i-Maḥākīm during the reign of Awrangzīb (1069-1119). His official duties apart, Abū Yūsuf used to deliver lectures on different aspects of Muslim learning. He died in Delhi in 1098/1687.¹

His works :—

- (i) *Al-Khayr al-Jārī fī Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*.
- (ii) *Al-Muʿlim fī Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*.
- (iii) *Kitāb al-Muṣaffā fī Sharḥ al-Muwaṭṭʾ*.²

6. *Mawlānā Naʿīm b. Md. Fayḍ al-Ṣiddiqī*
al-Awādī al-Jawnpūrī
 (d. 1120/1708).

His grandfather Shaykh Pīr came to Oudh in the retinue of Sālār Masʿūd³ and his father who settled down at Badīʿ Sarāʾ or Baddū Sarāī, had been *Muftī* of Oudh. Naʿīm was a pupil of ʿAbd al-Rashīd al-Jawnpūrī (d. 1083), the famous author of the *Manāẓira-i-Rashīdiyya*, lived over a century and died at Jawnpūr in Ṣafar, 1120/1708.

His work :—

Sharḥ Mishkāṭ al-Maṣābiḥ : The work was compiled after the eyesight of the author had become defective.⁴

1. *Nuzha*, Vol. VI ; Rizq Allāh, *al-Ufq al-Mubīn* ; *Mīrʿat-i-ʿĀlām*.

2. These works have been referred to by ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Nadawī in his *Nuzha* and *Maʿārif al-ʿAwārif*.

3. He was a sister's son to Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn (Haig, tr *Muntakhab at-Tawārīkh*, Vol. III, p. 46, n. 6).

4. *Nuzha*, Vol. VI, s.v. Naʿīm b. Fayḍ.

7. *Shaykh Muḥammad Akram b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥanafī al-Sindī* (d. circ. 1130/1717).

He was a native of Naṣr-pūr in Sind and lived in the first half of the 12th century. He prepared an elaborate commentary on Ibn Hajar's *Nukhbat al-Fikar* called *Im'ān al-Nazar fī Tawdīḥ Nukhbat al-Fikar*, a MS. copy of which is in the library of the late Mawlānā 'Abd al-Ḥayy al-Lakhnawī at Firingī Maḥal, Lucknow.¹

8. *Shaykh Yaḥyā b. Amīn al-'Abbāsī al-Ilahābādī* (1080-1144/1669-1731).

A disciple of his uncle Shaykh Afdal b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ilahābādī (d. 1124), Yaḥyā was popularly known as Khūb Allāh Ilahābādī. He was a scholar of varied learning and a good Traditionist. He died in Jumādā I, 1144/1731.²

His works :—

(i) *I'ānat al-Qārī fī Sharḥ Thulāthīyyāt al-Bukhārī*, an elaborate Arabic commentary on al-Bukhārī's *Thulāthīyyāt*.³

(ii) *Arba'in*.

(iii) *Tadhkirāt al-Aṣḥab*.

(iv) *Ma'khādh al-I'tiqād fī Shāh al-Ṣaḥābat wa Ahl al-Bayt* (in Arabic).

(v) *Sharḥ Ḥadīth صلوۃ التسبیح*.

(vi) *Tarjuma Waṣā'if al-Nabī*.⁴

1. *Nuzha*, Vol. VI, s.v. Muḥammad Akram b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sindī.

2. *Sarw-i-Azād*, pp 210-212.

3. *Ma'ārif al-'Awārif*, s.v.

4. *Nuzha*, Vol. VI.

9. *Shāh Muḥammad Fākhir al-Ilahābādī*
(1120-64/1708-50).

Fākhir, a son of Shāh Yaḥyā al-Ilahābādī, was a well-known poet who wrote poems with his *nom-de-plume* (*takhalluṣ*) Zā'ir. He was also a Muḥaddith and studied Hadīth literature at al-Madīna with Shaykh Hayāt al-Sindī (d. 1163) first in the year 1150/1737 and then from 1156/1743 to 1158/1745. Back at Allāhābād in 1159/1746, he reached Hooghly in the following year on boat via 'Azīmābād (Patna) and Murshidābād and embarked on a ship bound for the Hijāz. But due to a catastrophe in the Bay of Bengal, the vessel touched early in 1161/1748 the port of Chittagong where after staying for three or four months, Fākhir returned home. In Sha'bān, 1164/1750, he again started for the Ḥaramayn, but on his way he fell ill and died at Burhānpūr on the 11th Dhūl-Hijja of that year. Fākhir had been intimate with Shāh Walī Allāh al-Dihlawī (d. 1172) and was a fellow-student of Azād al-Bilgrāmī¹.

The Madrasa of Fākhir at Allāhābād had possessed a copy of the Ṣaḥīḥ of Muslim from which Rūḥ al-Amīn Khān (d. 1151)² made a reproduction which last is, now, preserved in the library of Ḥabībganj.³

His works on Hadīth :—

(i) *Qurrat al-'Ain fī Ithbāt Rafī' al-Yadain.*⁴

(ii) *Risāla-i-Najātiya dar 'Aqā'id-i-Ḥadīthiya* (published and to be had in the family library of Mawlānā 'Abd Allāh al-Bāqī of Dīnājpur, Bengal). This Persian treatise was composed at Islāmābād (Chittagong) during his short stay there in 1161/1748. It

1. *Sarw-i-Azād*, pp. 212-18 ; *Ithāf*, pp. 406-07 ; Ma'ārif, Vol. XXII, No. 5, p. 339 ; Nawshahrawī, *Tarājim-i-'Ulamā', i-Ḥadīth-i-Hind* (Delhi, 1939), Vol. I, pp. 334-40 ; *Tiqṣār*, p. 115.

2. *Mā'ir*, pp. 287-89.

3. Ma'ārif, Vol. XXIII, No. 2 ; pp. 91-2.

4. *Ithāf*, p. 406.

enunciates the doctrines of the *Sunnīs* from the viewpoint of Apostolic Traditions.¹

(iii) *Naẓm 'Ibārat-i-Sifr al-Sa'ada*.²

(iv) *Mathnawī dar Ta'rīf 'Ilm Ḥadīth*.³

10. *Mawlānā Amīn al-Dīn b. Maḥmūd al-'Umarī al-Ḥanafī al-Jawnpūri* (1072-1145/1661-1732).

Born and educated at Jawnpūr under Arshad b. 'Abd al-Rashīd al-Jawnpūrī, Amīn al-Dīn was a teacher highly learned not only in Tradition but also in Geometry, Arithmetic, Ustārīlāb and the Law of Inheritance (*Mawārith*). He made a synopsis, *Mulakh-khaṣ* of *Ashī'at al-Lama'āt* of Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq al-Dihlawī (d. 1052). He lived as late as the year 1135/1722-23. His death-date has not come down to us.⁴

11. *Mawlānā Nūr al-Dīn b. Ṣāliḥ al-Aḥmadābādī* (1063-1155/1653-1742).

Nūr al-Dīn was an eminent teacher and a prolific author of Aḥmadābād. He is credited to have compiled as many as 150 books chiefly commentaries and annotations (*shurūḥ wa ḥawāshī*). In 'al-Ḥadīth he was a pupil of Maḥbūb-i-'Ālam (q. v.); he also acquired the Science from Makkī Traditionists on the occasion of his pilgrimage to the Ḥaramayn in 1143/1730. His Madrasa at Aḥmadābād known as the *Hidayat Bakhsh* which was housed in a palatial construction built for him in 1111/1699 by his disciple Nawwāb Ikrām al-Dīn, a Ṣadr of Gujarāt with a huge sum of rupees one lac and twenty-four thousand, had

1. Ibid, pp. 84, 406.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. *Nuzha*, vol. VI; *Ganj-i-Arshadī*.

been a great educational institution.¹ Nūr al-Dīn died at Aḥmadābād on Monday, 9th Sha'bān, 1155/Sept., 1742, at the age of ninety-one and was buried within the premises of his Madrasa.²

His work :—

*Nūr al-Qārī Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī.*³

12. *Mīrzā Muḥammad b. Rustam al-Badakhshī*
(1098-1195/1687-1781).

Md. b. Rustam b. Qubbād al-Ḥārithī al-Badakhshī was born at Jalālābād (now in Afghānistān) on Friday 21, Jumādā I, 1098/April, 1687. His grandfather, Qubbād Beg, who had received from Awrangzib the title of *Diyānat Khān*, died at Delhi in 1083/1672. While his father, Rustam, later on Mu'tamid Khān, served under Awrangzib and fell in the Deccan wars in 1117/1705. Our author Mīrzā Muḥammad read with his father who was 'a man of great erudition.' At the age of fifteen he wrote his *Risāla Radd al-Bid'a wa 'Aqā'id Ahl al-Sunna* and with this work he was introduced to Awrangzib in 1115/1703 by Rūḥ Allāh Khān and received from the Emperor a *Manṣab* of six hundred. Besides his compilations on Hadith noted below, Mīrzā Muḥammad is the author of two valuable historical works, viz., *Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī* and '*Ibrat-Nāma*.' He died after the year 1190/1776 when he completed his *Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī*.⁴

1. *Yād-i-Ayyām*, p. 33.

2. Ibid, pp. 61-62; *Nuzha*, vol. VI; *Hadā'iq*, pp. 443-44; T. 'Ulamā; pp. 247-48; Ma'ārif, vol. XXII No. 5, p. 341; Supplement, *Mir'at Aḥmadī*, pp. 56-58.

3. *Ma'ārif al-'Awārif*, s.v. - شرح البخاری

4. For MSS. copies of *Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī*, Ethe, 3889-90; Rieu vol. III, p. 895a and a MSS. copy of '*Ibrat-Nāma*', Bānkīpūr, vol. VII, No. 623.

5. Rieu, loc. cit., Bānkīpūr, loc. cit.; Būhār, vol. II, p. 245; *Nuzha*, vol. VI, s.v. Md. b. Rustam al-Badakhshī; Storey, vol. II, p. 141; Brockelmann, Sup. I, p. 600.

His works

(i) *Miftāḥ al-Najā fī Manāqib al-‘Abā*: on the virtues and excellences of *Ahl-i-Bayt*, the descendants of the Prophet, chiefly based on Traditions together with a short account of their births and deaths. The book is divided into five parts which are again subdivided into chapters. It was taken up in Ramaḍān, 1123/1711 and was finished on the 17th Muḥarram, 1124/1712 at Lahore.¹

(ii) *Tarājim al-Ḥuffāẓ* (Būḥār Nos. 252-3; for Dār al-‘Ulūm, Deoband copy, see Burhān, ed. Delhi, 1940, p. 378), a two-volume biographical work on the eminent Traditionists (Ḥuffāẓ) arranged alphabetically and is based primarily on al-Sam‘ānī’s *Kitāb al-Ansāb*. It was written at Delhi in Rabī’ I, 1146/August, 1733.²

(iii) *Nuzūl al-Abrār bi mā Ṣaḥḥā min Manāqib Ahl al-Bayt al-Aṭḥār*, a collection of Aḥādīth giving correct estimate of the descendants of the Prophet. The treatise was composed for the Amīr al-Umarā Ḥusain Alī Khān al-Ḥusaynī al-Barhūwī.³

(iv) *Tuḥfat al-Muḥibbīn fī Manāqib al-Khulafā’ al-Rāshidīn* (Rāmpūr No. 668): on the virtues and excellences of the Four Orthodox Caliphs.⁴

13. *Mirzā Jān al-Birakī* (d. circ. 1100).

Awḥad al-Dīn Mirzā Jān al-Birakī al-Jālandharī was a native of Jullandhar in the Punjāb. He was a Traditionist of the eleventh century.⁵ Nothing more about him is available.

1. For detailed description of the contents, Būḥār vol. II, pp. 245-50.

2. For detailed description ibid, pp. 285-88.

3. *Nuṣṣa*, loc. cit.

4. Brockelmann, loc. cit.

5. *Iṣṭāf*, p. 173.

His work :—

Naẓm al-Durar wa'l-Marjān (Bānkīpūr, Vol. XV. No. 1033): a comprehensive Arabic work on the Prophet's life, miracles, prerogatives and distinctive merits as described in Aḥādīth. The work was completed on the 2nd Dhūl-Ḥijja, 1091/December, 1680.¹ Sayyid 'Alīm Allāh Jalandharī (d. 1202) translated the work into Persian under the title of *Nathr al-Jawāhir*.²

14. *Muḥammad Ṣiddīq al-Lāhurī* (1128-93/1716-79).

He learnt Ḥadīth in the Haramayn under Shaykh Yaḥyā b. Ṣāliḥ al-Makkī and Abū'l-Ḥasan al-Sindī of whom the latter granted him *Ijāza* at al-Madīna in 1170/1756. Muḥammad Ṣiddīq was born in 1128/1716 and died in 1193/1779 at Lahore where his father, who was a native of Kābul, had been *Imām* of the Masjid-i-Wazīrkhan.

His work :—

Izālat al-Fasādāt fī Sharḥ Manāqib al-Sādat, a commentary of Dawlatābādī's *Manāqib al-Sādat* (q.v. supra, 65) with criticism.³

Section V. *Shāh Walī Allāh and his School of Muḥaddithūn.* (1146-1283/1734-1866).

Shāh Walī Allāh al-Dihlawī (1114-76/1703-62).

Quṭb al-Dīn Abū 'Abd al-'Azīz Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Raḥīm al-'Umarī al-Ḥanafī al-Dihlawī, popularly known as Shāh Walī Allāh, the celebrated Indian Traditionist, traces his descent from Caliph 'Umar

1. Bānkīpūr Catalogue, vol. XV, pp. 94-95.

2. *Tadhkira-i-'Ulamā*, p. 147.

3. *Hadā'iq*, pp. 451-52; *T. 'Ulamā*, p. 194; *Nuzha*, vol. VI, s.v., Ṣiddīq al-Lāhurī.

al-Fārūq. Born at Delhi on Wednesday, Shawwāl 14, 1114/Feb., 1703—four years before the death of Awrangzīb, Shāh Walī Allāh began his education at the age of five, learnt the Qur'ān by heart when seven and completed the highest Madrasa course of the day when he reached the age of fifteen. As regards his study of Hadīth, he read in India the *Mishkāṭ al-Maṣābiḥ*, the *Shamā'il al-Nabī* and a portion of the *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* with Afdāl al-Siyālkūtī (d. 1146) and his own father 'Abd al-Raḥīm (d. 1131), one of the editors of the *Fatāwā-i-Ālamgīrī*. In 1143/1730, he proceeded to the Ḥaramayn and stayed there for fourteen months, studying the *Ṣiḥḥ Ṣitta*, the *Mishkāṭ al-Maṣābiḥ* and the *Ḥiṣn Ḥaṣīn* under Abū Ṭāhir b. Ibrāhīm al-Kurdī al-Shāfi'ī al-Madanī (d. 1145) and the *Muwatṭa'* of Mālīk under Waḥd Allāh al-Mālīkī al-Makkī.¹ Also he read with Tāj al-Dīn al-Qal'ī al-Makkī and 'Umar b. Aḥmad al-Makkī.² He returned to Delhi on Friday, Rajab 14, 1146/Dec. 1733, and opened a Hadīth class in Madrasa-i-Raḥīmiyya founded by his father, which, as number of students grew rapidly, was subsequently removed to a spacious building given for the purpose by Emperor Muḥammad Shāh (1131-61/1719-48). Here he lectured on the *Ṣiḥḥ Ṣitta*,³ the *Muwatṭa'*, the *Musnad al-Dārimī*, the *Mishkāṭ al-Maṣābiḥ*, etc., for a quarter of a century. The method of his imparting instructions was that he would first make his students read out their daily lessons for themselves and then he would discourse upon them. In the lectures of the *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* held during the year 1159/1746, Khawāja Amīn Walī Allāhī had been one of the *qāris*,⁴ or readers, and

1. Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Dihlawī, '*Ujāla-i-Nāfi'a*' (Lahore, 1302 A.H.), pp. 22-30.

2. *Muṣāffā Sharḥ-i-Muwatṭa'* (Fārūqī Press, Delhi, 1293 A.H.) vol. I, p. 22.

3. Bānkīpur Cat., V (1), p. 22.

4. Ibid.

Muḥammad Ilahābādī, one of the *sāmi'ūn*, listeners.¹ In presenting the *masā'il-i-fiqhiyya*, as he did in his *Muṣaffā* and *Musawwā*, Shāh Ṣāhib's main endeavour had been not to accentuate but to minimize the differences existing in the *Madhāhib-i-Arba'*, particularly those existing between the Hanafite and the Shāfi'ite schools. With that end in view, he would analyze all those *Masā'il-i-fiqhiyya* emphasizing over their points of agreement only, without giving preference to one school over the other—a process that not only helped to broaden the vision and outlook of the young learners but also inculcated in them a spirit of respect and large-hearted toleration for all the four Imāns and the systems they sponsored.

Of his distinguished pupils, his eldest son Shāh 'Abd al-'Aziz excepted, who read Hadīth with the Shāh Ṣāhib, the names of Qāḍī Thanā' Allāh Pānīpatī surnamed Baihaqī 'l-Waq', Muḥammad 'Ashiq Phukī, Khawāja Amīn Walī Allāhī, Khayr al-Dīn Sārattī, Rafī' al-Dīn Murādābādī, Muḥammad Ilahābādī, and others have come down to us.²

Shāh Walī Allāh died on the 29th of Muḥarram, 1176/July 1762, in Delhi where at Mahandiyaṅ, adjacent to the Khūnī Darwāza, his grave along with those of his family members exists to this day.³ His works on Hadīth:—

(i) *Hujjatullāh al-Baligha*: a work of encyclopædic character, dealing with Islamic jurisprudence,

1. Ibid.

2. Nawshahrawī, *Tarājim-i-'Ulamā'-i-Hadīth-i-Hind* (Delhi, 1938), Vol. I, p. 15.

3. *Al-Jus' al-Laṭīf* (autobiography) with Eng. tr. by M. Hidāyat Husain, JRASB (1912) pp. 161-75; *Yāni' al-Janī*, pp. 113-38; *Hadā'iq*, pp. 447-48; *Ithāf*, p. 448; *Abjad*, pp. 912 seq; T. *'Ulamā'-i-Hind*, pp. 250-52; *Nuzha*, VI, s.v. Shāh Walī Allāh al-Dihlawī; Nawshahrawī, op. cit. pp. 4-48; Ma'ārif, vol. XXII, No. 5, pp. 341-43; al-Furqān, Walī Allāh Number (Bareilly, 1941) 2nd ed, pp. 177-79, 236-38, 401-10; Ismā'il Gudharawī, *Walī Allāh* (Delhi, nd); Mukhtār Aḥmad, *Khāndān-i-'Asī* (Cawnpūr, n. d.) pp. 1-28; 'Ubaid Allāh Sindhī, *Hisb* (Lahore, 1942), p. 13, n. i, p. 43 n. i; *Ency. of Islām*, vol. I, pp. 1012; Storey, vol. I, pp. 20-22; Bānkīpūr Cat., V (1), pp. 5-6.

theology, physics, metaphysics, domestic economy (تدبير المنزل) political economy (السياسة المدنية) and *the last but not the least asrār al-Dīn*, the philosophical expositions of the rites and rituals of Islām, the most important part of the science of Tradition¹ and the quintessence of the science of epistemology, with copious quotations from the Qur'ān and Aḥādīth. A chapter of the work has been devoted to the discussions of the *ṭabaqāt*, the gradations of the books on Traditions into the first rank of which Shāh Ṣāhib has, along with the *Ṣaḥīḥān*, included the *Muwatta'* of Imām Mālik and into the second, the *Sunans* of Abū Dāwūd and al-Nasa'ī and the *Jāmi'* of al-Tirmidhī only.²

Among the Shāh Ṣāhib's contributions, the *Hujjatu'llāh al-Bāligha* shall always stand out as a monumental work which the Muslim India has ever produced and which won for her applause and admiration from the rest of the Islāmdom. In the opinion of Nawwāb Ṣiddīq Ḥasan, our Indian Suyūṭī, this book is unique in its kind, the like of which none of the 'Ulamā' of 'Arab and 'Ajam has ever been able to produce for the last twelve hundred years.³

The work was first lithographed at the Siddiqi Press, Bareilly, in 1285/1868 at the instance of Munshī Jamāl Khān of Bhopāl.⁴ Its Egyptian edition was published in 1322-23/1904-05 from al-Maṭba' at al-Khairiyya, Cairo. The work has also been translated into Urdū by some Indian scholars.

(ii) *Arba'in*: a selection of forty Aḥādīth transmitted by 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and handed down to the posterity through his descendants. Its Urdū translation with marginal notes by Khurram 'Alī Balharī

1. *Hujjatu'llāh al-Bāligha* (Cairo, 1322 A.H.), 1, p. 3.

2. *Ibid*, pp. 106-07.

3. *Iḥās*, p. 71.

4. Mukhtār Aḥmad, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

(d. 1271) was subsequently rendered into a metrical commentary by Hādī 'Alī of Lucknow in 1270/1853 under the title of *Tashkīr* which latter was published from the Muṣṭafāi Press, Delhi, in 1283/1866.¹

(iii) *Wathīqat al-Ākhira* commonly called *Chihil Ḥadīth*: a Persian commentary of al-Nawawī's *Arba'in* accompanied by an Urdū interlinery translation. The same work with a Pushto metrical paraphrase by 'Abd al-Ḥalīm Kākākhel was published from Delhi in 1303/1890.²

(iv) *Al-Durr al-Thamīn fī Mubashsharat al-Nabī al-Amin*: a collection of forty sayings that Shāh Ṣāhib and his *Shuyūkh* received direct from the Prophet in dreams. It was published from Delhi in 1890, with an Urdū translation by Zāhīr al-Dīn Aḥmad.³

(v) *Al-Faḍl al-Mubīn fī'l-Musalsal min Ḥadīth al-Nabī al-Amin*:⁴ a collection of Ḥadīth-i-Musalsal handed down by the groups of Huffāz, the Ḥanafite, the Shāfi'ite, the Mālikite, and the Ḥanbalite jurists, the Ahl-i-Bayt, the Spanish Traditionists, the *Mashāriqa* or the Traditionists of the Eastern Provinces, the poet-Traditionists and other groups of interest in the science. This very rare treatise was appended to the end of the second volume of al-Bukhārī's Ṣaḥīḥ transcribed by Shaykh Muḥammad Ilahābādī, a pupil of the Shāh Ṣāhib before 1160/1747 and is preserved in the Oriental Public Library at Bānkīpūr.⁵

(vi) *Al-Irshād ilā Muḥimmāt al-Isnād*: an account of his own *Shuyūkh* and of those through whom Ḥadīth had been transmitted to them from the

1. *Tashkīr*, pp. 2-3. Thanks to the courtesy of Mr. (now Dr.) Ṣaghīr Ḥasan of Dacca University, I could avail of the *Tashkīr*.

2. JRASB, p. 169; Brockelmann, Sup. I, p. 615.

3. Ibid. Ma'ārif, December, 1942, pp. 425-26.

4. This treatise appears to be the same as al-Nawādir noticed by Dr. Z. Aḥmad (Ma'ārif, pp. 426-27).

5. Bānkīpūr Cat. V (1), No. 134, also pp. 23-24.

Prophet. It was lithographed with Shāh Ṣaḥīb's *Tarājim al-Bukhārī* (q.v.) in Delhi, 1307/1889.¹

(vii) *Tarājim al-Bukhārī*: a brief notice of the scope and method of al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*²

(viii) *Sharḥ Tarājim Abwāb al-Bukhārī*: an exposition of the *tarjamat al-abwāb*, headlines of al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* printed by the Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif, Hyderābād, for the second time in 1357/1938 and also appended as *muqaddima* to the *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, lithographed in the Aṣaḥḥ al-Maṭābī', Delhi, in 1940.³

(ix) *Muṣaffā Sharḥ Muwaṭṭa'*: a concise two-volume Persian commentary of the *Muwaṭṭa'* of Imām Mālik (d. 179) published first from the Fārūqī Press, Delhi, in 1293/1876. Shāh Ṣaḥīb has in this book given a Persian reproduction of every Ḥadīth together with its meaning where necessary and has stated, without giving preference to any school, the view-points of the Madhāhib-i-Araba', particularly those of the Hanafite and the Shāfi'ite schools, with discussions of *masā'il-i-fiqhīyya* here and there. The commentary opens with a *muqaddima* of twenty-two pages devoted to Imām Mālik and his *Muwaṭṭa'* which latter has been considered by the Shāh Ṣaḥīb as well as Imām al-Shāfi'ī (d. 204) as the premier authentic work on Ḥadīth second only to the Qur'ān.⁴

(x) *Musawwā Sharḥ Muwaṭṭa'*: written in 1164/1751 and lithographed on the margin of *Muṣaffā* (q.v.) published from the Fārūqī Press, Delhi, in 1293/1876. This is something like a *Ta'liqāt*, marginal notes in Arabic on the *Muwaṭṭa'* of Mālik, dealing primarily

1. JRASB, loc. cit; Brockelmann, loc. cit.

2. Ibid.

3. *Nashriyāt-i-'Ilmiyya* or Cat. Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif (Hyderābād, 1363), p. 37; Furqān, p. 408 No. 13.

4. *Muṣaffā*, Vol. I, p. 7.

with the opinions of the Ḥanafite and the Shāfi'ite schools. Its bulk is about one-eighth of the *Muṣaffā* and as such is not as comprehensive as the *Muṣaffā*.¹

A note at the end of the *Muṣaffā*, published at the Fārūqī Press, tells us that the Shāh Ṣāhib compiled this work towards the latter part of his life but due to his pressing literary preoccupations could not find time to revise its first draft and that the book was subsequently edited by his pupil, Khawāja Amīn Walī Allāh in Shawwāl, 1179/April, 1766, four years after the demise of the Shāh Ṣāhib.

(xi) *Āthār al-Muḥaddithīn* (MS. Aṣafīyya).

(xii) *Maktūbāt ma' Munāqib-i-Imām al-Bukhārī wa Ibn Taimīyya* in Persian published with an Urdū translation by Sayyid 'Abd al-Raūf of Nadhīriyya Literary Society, Delhi.²

TRADITIONISTS BELONGING TO THE SCHOOL OF SHĀH WALĪ ALLĀH AL-DIHLAWĪ

1. *Qaḍī Thanā' Allāh al-Pānīpatī al-Naqsh-bandī al-Mujaddidī al-Maẓharī* (circ. 1145-1225/1732-1810).

He was tenth in descent from Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn Kabīr al-Awliyā'.³ In Ḥadīth he was a pupil of Shāh Walī Allāh and in mysticism of Mīrẓā Maẓhar Jān-i-Jānān (d. 1105). As a mark of his deep erudition in Ḥadīth literature he was designated Baihaqī 'l-Waqt or the Baihaqī of his time by Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Dihlawī. His *Tafsīr-i-Maẓharī*, which embodies

1. The statement of Dr. Z. Aḥmad (Ma'ārif, p. 420) that the *Musawwā* is more comprehensive (*jāmi'*) than the *Muṣaffā* is beside the point.

2. *Furqān*, p. 419, No. 30.

3. For him see, 'Uthmānī, *Syar al-Aqṭāb* (Newul Kishore, Lucknow, 1913), pp. 197 seq.

numerous Aḥādīth, demonstrates his wide survey over Hadīth literature.¹

His work on Hadīth :

(i) *Al-Lubāb* (Bānkīpūr, XV, No. 1039) : an abridgement of the third volume of the *Subul al-Huda wa 'l-Rashād* by Shams al-Dīn al-Ṣāliḥī (d. 942) dealing chiefly with the Prophet's noble qualities, business transactions and the manner of his living together with a collection of his prayers, commandments, decisions, etc. It has been stated in the preface that Qādī Thanā' Allāh wrote the present work at the suggestion of his preceptor Maẓhar Jān-i-Jānān. He used the following abbreviations for the authorities referred to in his *al-Lubāb*, viz., خ for al-Bukhārī, م for Muslim, د for Abū Dāwūd, ن for al-Nasa'ī, ج for Ibn Māja, ك for Mālik, ف for al-Shāfi'ī, كم for al-Ḥakīm, ط for al-Ṭabrānī, می for al-Dārmī, ق for Dāraquṭnī and so on.² An autograph copy of *al-Lubāb* is in possession of Mawlānā Fārūq of Madrasa Jāmi' al-'Ulūm at Cawnpūr.³

(ii) *Shah 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Walī Allāh al-Dihlawī* (1159-1239/1746-1823).

He received his early education with two eminent disciples of his father, namely, Khawāja Amīn and 'Ashiq Fultī. Then he entered the seminary of his father and thoroughly read the *Maṣābiḥ*, the *Musawwāfī Sharḥ al-Muwatta'*, a portion of the *Ṣaḥīḥān* and the rest of the *Ṣiḥāḥ Sitta*. In 1174/1760, while still in his teens, 'Abd al-'Azīz completed his education. In 1176/1762 on his father's demise, he succeeded him as a Professor of his Madrasa and taught primarily the Sciences of al-Qur'ān and al-Ḥadīth for a period well

1. *Iḥāf*, pp. 240-41 ; *Tiqṣār*, p. 113, *Hadā'iq*, pp. 465-68 ; *Tadhkira-i-'Ulamā'*, p. 38 ; Ma'ārif, vol. XXIII, No. 6, pp. 444 seq ; Nawshahrawī, op. cit. pp. 206 seq.

2. Bānkīpūr Cat., XV, pp. 102-03.

3. Ma'ārif, loc. cit.

over sixty years.¹ That he contributed materially towards the diffusion and dissemination of Ḥadīth literature in India is borne out by his numerous pupils who started the teaching of Ḥadīth at different centres of India as shown below :—

1. Shāh Rafī' al-Dīn al-Dihlawī (d. 1249), a younger brother of Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz at Delhi.²
2. Shāh Muḥammad Ismā'il Shahid (1193-1246) at Delhi.³
3. Shāh Muḥammad Makhṣūṣ Allāh (d. 1273) at Delhi.⁴
4. Muftī Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Dihlawī (1204-1258) at Delhi.⁵
5. Hasan 'Alī al-Muḥaddith al-Lakhnawī at Lucknow.⁶
6. Husain Aḥmad (1201-75) at Malihābād near Lucknow.⁷
7. Shāh Raūf Aḥmad al-Mujaddidī (d. 1249) at Bhupal.⁸
8. Shāh Faḍl-i-Raḥmān Ganj Murādābadī (d. 1315) at Murādābad.⁹
9. Khurram 'Alī Balharī (d. 1271),¹⁰ the Urdū translator of al-Ṣaghānī's *Mashāriq al-*

1. *Tadhkira-i-'Ulamā'*, p. 122; *Abjad*, p. 914; Ma'ārif, vol. XXII No. 5, p. 346; vol. LIII, No. 5, pp. 345-46; Nawshahrawī, op. cit. pp. 49 seq.

2. Nawshahrī, pp. 65-66.

3. Ibid. pp. 69-112.

4. Ibid. pp. 113-116.

5. *Ḥadā'iq*, p. 481.

6. *Tadhkira-i-'Ulamā'*, p. 47.

7. Ibid. p. 50-51.

8. Ibid., pp. 66-67; *Tadhkira-i-Kāmilān-i-Rāmpūr*, pp. 143-47.

9. *Tadhkir-i-'Ulamā'*, pp. 162-63.

10. Ibid., pp. 56-7.

Anwār entitled *Tuḥfat al-Akhyār*¹ and of the Arba'in by Shāh Walī Allāh² at Balhar near Lucknow.

10. Shāh Abū Sa'īd (d. 1250) at Rāmpūr and Delhi.³
11. Muḥammad Shakūr al-Ja'farī (1211-1300) at Machlishahar near A'zamgarh.⁴
12. Shāh Zahūr al-Haqq al-Qalandarī at Phulwārī Sharif near Patna.⁵
13. Awlād Ḥusain, the father of Nawwāb Siddīq Ḥasan Khān, (120-157) at Qannūj.⁶
14. Karm Allāh al-Muḥaddith (d. 1258) at Delhi.⁷
15. Salāmat Allāh al-Badāwnī at Cawnpūr.⁸

His works:—

(i) *Bustān al-Muḥaddithin* [published]⁹: a popular and informative Persian treatise dealing with important works on al-Ḥadīth beginning with the *Muwatta'* of Imām Mālik and ending with *al-Maṣābiḥ* by al-Baghawī together with short biographical sketches of their authors.

(ii) '*Ujāla'-i-Nāfi'a*: a very useful Persian treatise on Uṣūl al-Ḥadīth lithographed at Lahore in 1302 A.H. and Delhi in 1212 A.H.

1. Completed in 1249/1833 and lithographed repeatedly at Cawnpore in 1917, 1925 and 1928.

2. Supra, p. 175.

3. Supra, p. 145.

4. *Tadhkira-i-'Ulamā'*, p. 192.

5. Ma'ārif, vol. XXIII, No. 5, pp. 363-64.

6. Nawshahrawī, pp. 269 seq.

7. *Tadhkira-i-'Ulamā'*, p. 172.

8. Ibid., pp. 77-80.

9. Lithographed at Delhi in 1898 and subsequently.

3. *Shāh Ishāq b. Afḍal al-Fāruqī al-Dihlawī* (1192-1262/1778-1846).

On the death of Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz in 1239/1823, the professorship of his Madrasa devolved on the shoulders of his famous pupil and grandson Shāh Ishāq who then ably carried on the teaching of al-Hadīth for a period of 20 years. In 1259/1843, he migrated to Makka where he died in Rajab 1262/June 1846.¹

In his *Tarājim-i-'Ulamā'-i-Hadith-i-Hind*, Nawshahrawī records the names of as many as 41 Muḥaddithūn from different parts of India who were pupils of Shāh Ishāq². Of them Mawlānās Maẓhar al-Nanūtūwī and Aḥmad 'Alī al-Sahāranpūrī were the pioneers of the Hadīth learning at the Seminary of Sahāranpūr; Shāh 'Abd al-Ghanī was the teacher of Mawlānā Qāsim al-Nanūtūwī, the founder of the famous Dār al-'Ulūm at Deoband³; Mawlānā Sayyid Nadhīr Husain founded the School of Muḥaddithūn of Ahl-i-Hadīth. A notice of the above Traditionists outstanding as they are seems to be in place here.

4. *Maẓhar al-Nanūtūwī* (d. 1302/1884-5).

Over and above Shāh Ishāq, Maẓhar al-Nanūtūwī read the Science of Tradition with Rashīd al-Dīn al-Dihlawī (d. 1249) and Muftī Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Dihlawī (d. 1273). He was the first Mudarris, teacher and Muḥaddith of Maẓāhir al-'Ulūm at Sahāranpūr.⁴ The Shaykh al-Hind Mawlāna Maḥmūd Ḥasan b. Dhū'l-Fiqr 'Alī al-Deobandī (1268-1339), a former Rector of

1. Ibid., p. 178; Ma'ārif, vol. XXII, No. 5, p. 347; vol. LIII, No. 5, pp. 346-47.

2. Nawshahrawī, pp. 119-20. 'Ubaid Allāh Sindhī, *Ḥizb* (Lahore, 1942) pp. 121 seq.; *Awjās al-Masālik*, vol. i, *Muqaddima*, pp. 45-46.

3. Both Dār al-'Ulūm, Deoband, and Maẓāhir al-'Ulūm, Sahāranpūr, were founded in 1283/1866.

4. *Awjās al-Masālik*, vol. i, p. 43; Ma'ārif, vol. LIII, No. 5, p. 352.

Dār al-'Ulūm of Deoband and the *Shaykh* of the present Rector Mawlānā Husain Aḥmad al-Madani, was a pupil of Mawlānā Maẓhar.¹

5. *Aḥmad 'Alī b. Luṭf Allāh al-Anṣari*
al-Sahāranpūri (d. 1297/1880)

On receiving *Sanad-i-Ḥadīth* from Shāh Iṣḥāq at Delhi, Aḥmad 'Alī performed Ḥajj and further studied al-Ḥadīth with Traditionists of the Ḥaramayn. Back from al-Ḥijāz, he started under his own editorship and with his distinguished pupil Mawlānā Qāsim as his collaborator the Maṭba'-i-Aḥmadi, a lithograph press, at Delhi which for quite a number of years did commendable services towards the spread of Ḥadīth literature in this country by publishing standard works. Mention in this connection may be made of his familiar *Ta'liqāt* (glosses) on the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī which gives in a nutshell all that is required for a student to understand the *sanad* (chain of authorities) and *matn* (text) of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*.² Further, he leaves behind him a useful *Ḥawāshī* (marginal notes) on the *Jāmi'* of al-Tirmidhī lithographed at the Muṣṭabā-i-Press at Delhi in 1328 A.H. On the outbreak of the Mutiny of 1857, Mawlānā Aḥmad 'Alī dissolved his press, left Delhi and went over to his native place Sahāranpūr and subsequently became a Professor of Ḥadīth in the then newly-founded Madrasa Mazāhir al-'Ulūm—a post which he ably filled up until he died in 1297/1880.³

6. *Shah 'Abd al-Ghani al-Mujaddidi*
(1235-1296/1819-79)

See above p. 146.

1. Vide *Sanad-i-Ḥadīth* of the Dār al-'Ulūm, Deoband.

2. Ma'ārif, loc. cit.

3. *Ḥadā'iq*, p. 493; *Awjaz*, vol. I, p. 45.

7. *Qāsim b. Asad b. Ghulām Shāh al-Nanūtuwī*
(1246-97/1830-80).

He read the *Darsiyyāt*, the usual courses of Arabic and Persian, with his uncle Mamlūk 'Alī, the first teacher of the Madrasa founded by the East India Company at Delhi, and Ḥadīth with Shāh 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Mujaddidī. After acting for some time as teacher of the aforesaid Madrasa, he joined the Aḥmadī Press at Delhi and worked with his teacher Aḥmad 'Alī in editing and annotating Ḥadīth works until the Sepoy Mutiny broke out in 1857. In 1277/1860, he performed Ḥajj and became a disciple of Ḥajī Imdād Allāh (d. 1317) then domiciled at Makka. In 1283/1866, at the instance of his preceptor Ḥajī Imdād Allāh and his teacher Shāh 'Abd al-Ghanī, Mawlānā Qāsim founded at Deoband an Arabic Madrasa which shortly came to be known as Dār al-'Ulūm. Here the Shaykh al-Hind Mawlānā Maḥmūd Ḥasan, Fakhr al-Ḥasan al-Gangūhī, Aḥmad Ḥusain al-Amrūhī read Ḥadīth with Mawlānā Qāsim. He died on Wednesday, the 4th Rabī' I, 1297/February, 1880 and was buried at Nanūta.¹

9. *Miyān Ṣaḥīb Sayyid Nadhīr Ḥusain al-Bihārī*
al-Dihlawī (1220-1320/1805-1902).

Born at Balthawa in the district of Monghyr in Bihār, Miyān Ṣaḥīb had his lessons in the *Mishkāt al-Maṣābiḥ* and the exegesis of a portion of the Qur'an under Shāh Muḥammad Ḥusain at Ṣādiqpur near Patna. In 1243/1827, he proceeded to Delhi and joined the Ḥadīth class of Shāh Iṣḥāq from whom on his passing the highest examination in Ḥadīth literature, he received a *Sanad*² in 1258/1842. Then he

1. *Ḥadā'iq*, pp. 491-93; *Ḥizb*, p. 186, note 1; Ma'ārif, loc. cit.

2. A copy of the *Sanad* has been produced by Nawshahrawī (op. cit. 132).

started at Masjid-i-Awraṅgābādī in Delhi a Madrasa which was subsequently removed to a building at Fatak-i-Habash Khān where the institution together with a library called after the Miṡyān Ṣāhib as the Nadhīriyya Library exists to this day.

Like Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Dihlawī, Miṡyān Ṣāhib taught Ḥadīth literature for a period close upon sixty years. His fame as a *Muḥaddith* spread throughout Islāmdom; ardent students from Afghānistān, Bukhārā, Samarqand, al-Ḥijāz and even from far off Sūdān came to Delhi to read Ḥadīth with him. In his biography, *al-Ḥayāt ba'd al-Mamāt*, a list of 500 Traditionists who were pupils of the Miṡyān Ṣāhib has been preserved for us. Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm al-Arawī, the founder of Madrasa-i-Aḥmadiyya at Ara, Shams al-Ḥaqq at Diyānūwī al-'Azīmābādī, the famous author of the '*Awṇ al-Ma'būd fī Sharḥ Abī Dawūd*,' Ḥāfiẓ 'Abd al-Mannān of the Punjāb, Nawwāb Waḥīd al-Zamān of Hyderābād, 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Rahīmābādī of Bihār, Ḥāfiẓ 'Abd Allāh al-Ghāzipūrī (d. 1322) and 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Mubārakpūrī (d. 1353), the author of the '*Tuḥfat al-Aḥwādhi fī Sharḥ Jāmi' al-Tirmidhi*'²—Traditionists who dedicated their lives for the spread of Ḥadīth learning and who sent out hundreds of their own pupils all over India—belonged to the school of the Miṡyān Ṣāhib.

A centenarian, Miṡyān Ṣāhib died at Delhi on Sunday, 10th Rajab, 1320/October 13, 1902, and was buried at the cemetery of Shīdipūra.³

THE FOUNDATION OF THE DĀR AL-'ULŪM AT DEOBAND AND THE MAZĀHIR AL-'ULŪM AT SAHĀRANPŪR.

In chapter V, we have dwelt upon the Indian

1. Published in 1323 A.H. from Delhi.

2. Published in four volumes from Delhi in 1346-53 A.H.

3. Nawshahrawī, pp. 132 seq.

Traditionists belonging, among others, to the Schools of Aḥmad al-Sirhindī (1000-1296), 'Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Dihlawī (1000-1229) and Shāh Walī Allāh al-Dihlawī (1145-1283). The School of 'Abd al-Ḥaqq flourished in Delhi until the close of the twelfth century A.H., when it was shifted to Rāmpūr with Salām Allāh al-Muḥaddith al-Rāmpūrī as its head. The seat of the School of Aḥmad al-Sirhindī was at Sirhind in the Punjab which was subjected to Sikh vandalism since 1124/1710.¹ In consequence this School too sought refuge in 1177/1762 at Rāmpūr.² Here, thanks to the royal munificence of the then rulers of the Rāmpūr State, the Traditionists of the Schools of al-Sirhindī and 'Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Dihlawī were able to work unhampered for the cause of Ḥadīth literature until the twenties of the thirteenth century when, with the death of Salām Allāh, the School of 'Abd al-Ḥaqq came to a close, while Shāh 'Abu Sa'īd al-Mujaddidī (d. 1250), the head of the other School, migrated to Delhi and became a disciple of Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Dihlawī. The School of al-Sirhindī thus became merged in that of Shāh Walī Allāh. Shāh 'Abd al-Ghanī b. Abi Sa'īd al-Mujaddidī, the teacher of Mawlānā Qāsim al-Nanūtūwī, the founder of the Dār al-'Ulūm at Deoband, was the most outstanding member of this combined School of Muḥaddithūn. So, the Dār al-'Ulūm is as much a product of the School of Shāh Walī Allāh as of al-Sirhindī. In fact, it embodies the spirits of both. The Mazāhir al-'Ulūm at Sahāranpūr, on the other hand, owed its growth to Mawlānā Maḥzar al-Nanūtūwī, a pupil of Shāh Ishāq al-Dihlawī. Since their foundation, these two Madrasas have been under learned doctors providing, among other Islamic sciences, higher studies in Ḥadīth literature in India and have been drawing students not only from Indian

1. *Encyclopædia of Islām*, vol. IV, p. 421.

2. *Supra*, p. 143.

provinces but also from other parts of Islāmdom. Thus the centuries-old practice of sailing for the Haramayn on the part of Indian students, to specialize in Hadīth literature, has naturally been discontinued. And the Dār al-'Ulūm and the Mazāhir al-'Ulūm, the two great institutions in this country, stand out to-day as the living monuments of the Mujaddid-i-Alf-i-Thāni and Shāh Walī Allāh al-Dihlawī.

PART II

INDIAN TRADITIONISTS OUTSIDE INDIA

CHAPTER I

EARLY INDIAN RUWĀT

FROM the second century onwards we meet at the seats of Islamic learning particularly in the eastern provinces of the Caliphate Traditionists and scholars of outstanding reputation who, as has been mentioned in *Asmā' al-Rijāl*, were Indians in descent. When and how they or their forefathers migrated to Islamic countries and embraced Islām excites our curiosity. The biographical literature responsible for this interesting reference does not give us any detail whatsoever. Fortunately, however, we possess some historical evidences on the conversion of certain tribes of Sind to Islām, who afterwards settled down in al-'Irāq. We have also a few isolated accounts of the Indian war-prisoners being taken to Muslim lands at different times of the early Arab expeditions to India. These are some of the facts that throw added light on the scant information supplied by our *Asmā' al-Rijāl*.

Section I

(a) Tribesmen of Sind Islamized.

Prior to Islām a contingent of the Indian soldiers recruited from the formidable Jāts (al-Zuṭṭ), the Sayābija and the Asāwira served in the Persian army.¹

1. Al-Balādhurī, p. 373 = Murgotten, pp. 105 seq. al-Zuṭṭ = the Jāt, a tribe from Sind (*Lisān al-'Arab*, s.v. al-Zuṭṭ); Balādhurī, p. 375 = Murgotten, p. 109. Aghānī, Vol. XIV, p. 46, has Sayātija; Ibn Athīr, Vol. II, p. 281, Sabābija; cf. Ṭabarī, Vol. I, p. 1961 (Leiden).

The Sayābija may be identified with the Sameja of the Beglar Nāma, which was again a branch of the Sodhas. While Asāwira was probably identical with Wairsa, the chief clan among the Sodhas (Elliot, Vol. I, p. 531). Siyāh, the leader of the Asāwira (Balādhurī, p. 373) was probably Sītāh or Siyāh = black, a designation signifying 'Black Indian.' It would be noticed that even up to the time of the 'Abbasid al-Mahdī (158-69 = 775-89), the Sayābija and the Asāwira lived and worked together (Ṭabarī

When during the caliphate of 'Umar the mighty Sassanide empire was laid low before the onrush of the Arabs, these Indians, taking stock of the situation, went over to the victors and embraced Islām. They established themselves in and around al-Baṣra and became allies of the Banū Tamīm.¹ Nahr al-Asāwira at al-Baṣra called after the Asāwira further² strengthens this statement. Again after the conquest of Sind by Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim 'some of the Zuṭṭ of as-Sind and a number of other tribes from that province, accompanied by their families, their children and their buffaloes,' were brought to al-Hajjāj who 'settled them in the lower parts of Kaskar', the district of Wāsiṭ.³ 'They possessed themselves in al-Baṭiḥa and multiplied therein'. There the canal Zuṭṭ became famous after the tribe.⁴ A part of the tribe, however, appears to have been shifted to Khuzistān and settled at Hawmah or 'the district of the Zuṭṭ' where on the river Ṭab stood a populous village called al-Zuṭṭ.⁶

(b) War prisoners.

From the start of their Indian expeditions, the Arabs carried with them numerous captives who

[Continued]

ed=Egypt, Vol. IX, p. 327), an undoubted sign of attachment inherent among themselves. This fact supplements our identification, namely, that both the Asāwira and the Sayābija belonged to the one and the same tribe, the Sodhas of Sind. Also cf. Ma'ārif, Vol. XIII No. 5, p. 328. According to Gabriel Ferrand (*Ency. of Islām*, Vol. IV, p. 201), the Sayābija were the descendants of the ancient Sumatran emigrants to India, then to 'Irāq and the Persian Gulf.

1. Balādhurī, p. 373=Murgotten, pp. 106-107. Al-Suyūfī (*Lubb al-Lubāb*, p. 15) mistakes Asāwira as *baṭn* (sub-tribe) of the Banū Tamīm. Evidently '*baṭn*' is here an error for '*ḥalīf*' (ally) as in al-Balādhurī. Al-Sam'ānī (fol. 37 b) has a lacuna for this word. Later on, the Asāwira became allies of the Banū Sa'd, while the Jāts and the Sayābija affiliated themselves with the Banū Hanthala (Balādhurī, p. 374=Murgotten, p. 107).

2. Balādhurī, p. 373=Murgotten, p. 106.

3. Le Strange, p. 42.

4. Balādhurī, p. 375=Murgotten, p. 109.

5. Yā'qūt, Vol. II, p. 930.

6. Le Strange, p. 244.

subsequently became converts to Islām and settled in Muslim countries. In 23/743, during the caliphate of 'Umar, the Arabs for the first time came in conflict with the Indians on the bank of the Indus.¹ The Indians became discomfited; 'vast booty was captured, including many elephants, and a great number of captives were taken' by the Arabs.² Muhallab b. Abī-Sufra launched an attack on the frontiers of India in 44/664,³ and carried with him a host of 12,000 war prisoners some of whom, we are told, admitted themselves to the faith of Islām.⁴ In about 57/676, al-Mundhir b. Jārūd al-'Abdī conquered Quṣḍār (north-eastern part of modern Baluchistān) and took many captives.⁵ During the next three decades and a half preceding the conquest of Sind in 93/711, Indian frontiers suffered sporadic raids by the Arabs which evidently brought them many captives. Again, early in 160/776, al-Mahdī (158-69/775-85) sent a naval squadron to India which attacked Barbad (modern Bhārbhūt) on the Gujarāt coast, and had a successful combat with the Indians. The prisoners of war taken over to Muḥammad b. Sulaymān, *wālī* of al-Baṣra, included the princess of Barbad.⁶ That by the time of the next caliph al-Hādī (169-70/785-6) the Indian slaves drawn from war prisoners were scattered throughout the Caliphate is apparent from an edict said to have been issued by the Caliph to punish, for a grievous offence committed by one of them, the slaves *en masse* wherever they were found in his dominion. In consequence, the price of the Indian slaves fell down appreciably.⁷ In the course of the fourth

1. Tabari, pp. 2706-7 (Leiden). See above, p. 6.

2. Raverty, *Notes on Afghānistān and part of Baluchistān* (London, 1888), p. 568.

3. Balādhurī, 432 = Murgotten, p. 210.

4. Abū'l Qāsim Firishṭa, *Tārīkh-i-Hind* (Cawnpūr, 1874), Vol. I, p. 16.

5. Balādhurī, p. 433 = Murgotten, p. 211.

6. Tabari, Vol. III, pp. 476-77.

7. Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadhārāt*, Vol. I, p. 272.

century, Khurāsān was flooded with imported Indian slaves. For, already before 362 A.H. (972 A.D.), a quarter in Balkh where they usually alighted came to be known as Hindūwān.¹ Ibn Buṭlān, the well-known physician of the early fifth century A.H. (XI A.D.), writing about the art of purchasing of slaves, states: "The (Indian) men are good house-managers and experts in fine handicrafts but they are apt to die from apoplexy at an early age. They are mostly brought from Kandahār. The women of Sind are noted for slim waist and long hair."²

(c) *Indian tribesmen in Muslim Army.*

The Jāts and their compatriots formed the fighting elements of Islām and became a valuable addition to the Muslim army. Caliph Mu'āwīya concentrated them against the Romans in Syria, while 'Abd al-Malik 'removed a part of the Zuṭṭ to Anṭākiya and its environs.'³ During the caliphate of 'Alī the Jāts and the Sayābija were pro-'Alid in al-Baṣra. Their valour and fidelity appeared to have been proved as evidenced by the fact that a body of the Jāts were on sentry duties of the *Bait al-Māl* in al-Baṣra in the turmoil of the civil war during the time of 'Alī.⁴ As many as four thousand soldiers from the Asāwira and the Sayābija strengthened the naval squadron we have just mentioned.

These Indian neo-Muslims constituted by the Jāts, the Asāwira and the Sayābija living in small communities, maintained their racial integrity for

1. *Ansāb*, fol. 593a; Le Strange, p. 422. The famous Hanafite jurist, Abū Ja'far al-Hindūwānī died in 362 972-73. (Lakhuwāī, *al-Fawā'id al-Bahīyya*, p. 73).

2. Khoda Bakhsh and Margoliouth, *The Renaissance of Islām* (Patna, 1937), pp. 99, 137.

3. Balādhurī, p. 376 = Murgotten, pp. 110-111.

4. Balādhurī, loc. cit., *Ibn 'Abd al-Barr*, *Kitāb al-Istī'yāb fi Ma'rifat al-Aṣṣāb* (Hyderābād, 1336) 2nd ed., Vol. I, pp. 121-22,

some time before they identified themselves with the general body of the Muslims; while the Indian slaves referred to above remained scattered throughout Arabia and the neighbouring Muslim lands and became merged with the Muslims almost immediately.

Section II

(a) *Cultural activities of the tribesmen.*

Conversion to Islām and the association with the Arabs brought about a change of outlook among these Indian tribes. We have it from the *Futūḥ al-Buldān* that the leader of the guards of the *Bait al-Māl* in al-Baṣrā, Abū Sālīma, the Jāt, was a man of pious habits (*ṣāliḥ*)¹—a fact that testifies to their transformation already at work. Now on they were not all for fighting career. They betook themselves to cultural activities and became elevated intellectually and spiritually. Al-‘Irāq was in her rising splendour when the first Indian tribes settled there. Early in the caliphate of ‘Umar arose al-Baṣra and al-Kūfa which became the two metropolises of the Eastern Caliphate.² These two cities soon became seats of government as also of learning and culture.³ Since their foundation, the Companions of the Prophet came down to settle there,⁴ and opened classes for instructions in theology which attracted students from far and near.⁵ Now, these Indian *Mawālī* (clients) saw before their eyes the growing activities for learning in which they participated with success. It is refreshing to note that as in the sphere of fighting so also in

1. Balādhurī, p. 376 = Murgotten, p. 110.

2. Ibid., pp. 276 seq. = Hitti, pp. 435 seq.; Muir, *The Caliphate*, pp. 122-23.

3. Hitti, *The History of the Arabs*, pp. 241 seq.

4. Ibn Sa‘d (*Ṭabaqāt*, Vol. VIII, part I, pp. 5-8) notices 150 Companions of the Prophet who migrated to al-Baṣra.

5. Ma‘ārif, Vol. XLVII, No. 6 (June, 1941) pp. 414-15.

cultural attainments, the Indian neo-Muslims were second to none.

I. The great Imām Abū Ḥanifa (80-150/699-767), the celebrated founder of the Ḥanafite School, is believed to have derived his descent from the Jāts of al-‘Irāq.¹

II. Abū ‘Isā al-Uswārī (d. circ. 125) who belonged to a family of the Asāwira of al-Baṣra was a *Rawī* (transmitter of al-Ḥadīth) of high repute.² He was a *Tabī‘ī*. He narrated Ḥadīth from the celebrated Abū Sa‘īd al-Khudrī (d. 74), ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar (d. 74) and also from Rufai‘ b. Mihrān surnamed Abū ‘l-‘Āliya (d. 93); while Thābit al-Bunānī (d. 127), Qatāda (d. 117) and ‘Āsim al-Aḥwal (d. 143) transmitted Ḥadīth on the authority of Abū ‘Isā al-Uswārī.³ His Aḥādīth have been produced in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim and *Al-Adab al-Mufrad* by al-Bukhārī.⁴

III. ‘Abbās b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Sindī al-Anṭakī was probably a descendant of the Jāts or the Sayābija who were removed to Anṭakīya in the caliphate of Mu‘āwīya and ‘Abd al-Malik.⁵ His *nisba* al-Anṭakī supports the hypothesis. ‘Abbās studied Ḥadīth literature under al-Haytham b. Jamīl (d. 213) of Anṭakīya, Muḥammad b. Musalama (d. 221) of Makka, Sa‘īd b. Manṣūr of Khurāsān, Muḥammad b. Kathīr (d. 216) of al-Yaman and Muslim b. Ibrāhīm (d. 222) and ‘Alī al-Madīnī (d. 234) of al-Baṣra. He was a reliable guarantor.

1. Ibid., Vol. XIII(5), p. 330. If it is a fact that his grandfather Zuṭā (زوطی) was originally from Kābul (*Tārīkh Baghdād*, Vol. XIII, pp. 324 seq.), then his being a Jāt is not unreasonable inasmuch as Kābul had been the parent country of the Jāts (Cunningham, *Archæological Survey of India* (Simla, 1871), Vol. II, pp. 54-55) or at least he was an Indian for culturally Kābul formed a part of India (Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, Vol. I, p. 123; Vol. II, p. 264).

2. Suyūṭī, *Lubb al-Lubāb*, Vol. I, p. 15; *Ansāb*, fol. 376, cf. above, p. 193, n. 1.

3. Ibn Hajar, *Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb*, p. 432.

4. *Khuṭū‘a*, p. 393.

5. See above, p. 194.

Al-Nasā'ī (d. 303), Abū 'Awāna (d. 310) and other Traditionists acquired Hadīth from and transmitted it on the authority of 'Abbās.¹ His Aḥādīth are found in the *Sunan* of al-Nasā'ī.² He died possibly in the second half of the third century A.H.³

IV. Abū 'l-Sindī al-Wāsiṭī (d. circa 165). Suhail b. Dhakwān surnamed Abū 'l-Sindī, belonged probably to a family of the Jāts who, after being separated from their compatriots in al-Baṭīḥa, settled down at Wāsiṭ.⁴ Hence is his *nisba* al-Wāsiṭī. Abū 'l-Sindī made himself famous as teacher of Hushaim (d. 181) and Yazīd b. Hārūn (d. 206) of Wāsiṭ. But as a Traditionist he was charged with falsehood and his traditions were rejected. Ibn Hibbān, however, notices him in his *Kitāb al-Thiqāt* under the name of Sahl b. Dhakwān.⁵

(b) *Cultural activities of the War-prisoners.*

War prisoners other than those ransomed were treated as slaves whose manumission was reckoned as an act of high merit. The Prophet is reported to have said, "They (the slaves) are your brethren; Allāh subjects them under you. One whose brother is under his subjection should feed him that which he himself eats, and clothe him with that which he himself wears. He should not impose upon him a task that which is beyond his power. If he is to do that he should be helped in."⁶ In adherence to this and other Apostolic precepts, the Muslims generally meted out to the slaves kind and brotherly treatment. They were given ample to eat and wear, and were hardly called upon to

1. *Tahdhīb*, Vol. V, p. 119.

2. *Khuṭūba*, p. 160.

3. *Taqrīb*, cf. pp. 4 & 190.

4. See above, p. 192.

5. *Misān*, Vol. I, p. 432; *Lisān*, Vol. III, pp. 124-25.

6. *Vide* Muslim, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*; al-Bukharī, *Jāmi' al-Ṣaḥīḥ*; Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*; Abū Dāwūd, *Sunan*, s.v. al-Bāb fi ḥaqq al-Mamlūk.

undertake physical labour beyond their capacity. But what constituted the brightest chapter in the Muslim treatment to the slaves was the facilities the former provided for the development of the faculties of the latter. For a master, to educate his slave was his prime concern. Apart from humanitarian stand-point, to educate a slave had its economic value. For, the price of the slaves was usually determined by their accomplishments and the more the accomplishment the higher the bargain. Therefore, side by side with freemen, the bondmen also were trained up in reading and writing and in arts and crafts. Education was not denied even to a female slave (*jāriya*). Now whatever might have been the motive—religious or economic—it undoubtedly contributed to the amelioration of the conditions of the slaves. Given opportunity, the slaves proved their worth and often enough excelled freemen. For a bondman to become a savant was but a common feature in the early Islām. The illustrious Nāfi' (d. 117)¹ and 'Ikrima (d. 104),² both famous as the *mawlā* of Ibn 'Umar and Ibn 'Abbās, respectively, were great authorities on Apostolic Traditions.³ The celebrated al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110) was a *mawlā*;⁴ Makḥūl (d. 118), the jurist and Traditionist of Syria, was a *mawlā*.⁵ 'Abd Allāh b. Mubārak, the master-traditionist, was again a *mawlā*.⁶

It stands to reason, therefore, that the slaves recruited from the Indian war prisoners too enjoyed all the privileges thrown open to their class as a whole

1. He is said to have been a war-prisoner from Kābul (*Nawawī*, p. 589).

2. He was a *Barbar* from al-Maghrib (Mauritania). *Ibid.*, pp. 431 seq.

3. The *isnād* consisting of Mālik, Nāfi' and Ibn 'Umar is called *Silsila tu 'l-Dhahab* or golden chain [Ibn Ḥajar, *Nuḥbat al-Fikar* (Cawnpore, 1344 A.H.), p. 32, n2].

4. He was a *Mawlā* of Zaid b. Thābit (d. 54) *Nawawī*, p. 209).

5. He was a war-prisoner from Kābul (*Nawawī*, p. 577).

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 365 seq.

and that coming as they did from India, the home of an ancient civilization, they were naturally predisposed to quickly pick up Islamic learning which destiny placed before them. As a matter of fact, a number of the descendants of Indian captives distinguished themselves as savants and scholars, a manifest testimony to the cultural activities displayed by these Indian neo-Muslims. Already in 240/854 in the Khān al-Sindī, a charitable institution established by some Indian *mawālī* in Baghdād, was a seat of Hadīth-learning where Traditionists of note would hold discourses on the subject.¹

1. *Al-Awzā'i* (88-157/706-73)

Of the descendants of prisoners of war from India, 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Amr b. Yuhmid,² well known as al-Awzā'i,³ attained immortal name. Born at Ba'lbik

1. Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh* Baghdād, Vol. XIII, p. 320.

2. For correct reading of this name, see Nawawī, op. cit. p. 382.

3. His *nisba* al-Awzā'i has given occasion for different interpretations. A section of the scholars including Ibn Sa'd (d. 230/844) holds that it is derived from Awzā', the sub-tribe of the Hamdān (*Ṭabaqāt*, Vol. VII, Part II, p. 185) or of the Ḥimiyār, or from *awza'* signifying diverse tribes (قبائل شتى). Vide Nawawī, pp. 382-83; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, Vol. VI, p. 239. According to others, *Awzā'* (so called because the tribe Awzā' settled there) was a village (قرية) adjacent to Bāb al-Farādīs in Damascus where 'Abd al-Rahmān migrated and was accordingly called al-Awzā'i, i.e., a native of Awzā' (Nawawī, p. 383; *Ansāb*, fol. 53b. cf. Yāqūt *Mu'jam al-Bulḍān*, Vol. I, p. 403). Now the latter view appears to be cogent. For, al-Awzā'i was born and brought up at Ba'lbik and his connection with Awzā' was established only after his migration there. Apparently, therefore, 'Abd al-Rahmān was associated with the village Awzā' and not with the tribe of that name, and as such his being a Hamdānī or Ḥimiyārī is beside the point. The mystery shrouding his origin has, however, been unknotted by the Traditionist Abū Zur'a al-Dimishqī (d. 281. For him see *Tahdhīb*, Vol. VI, p. 236) who says, كان اسم الاوزاعي عبدالعزيز فسمى نفسه عبد الرحمن و كان اصله من سبأ السند و كان ينزل الاوزاع فغلب ذلك عليه

that al-Awzā'i belonged to a family of Indian war-prisoners and that he migrated to Awzā' and became famous as al-Awzā'i (*Tahdhīb*, loc. cit). The statement of Abū Zur'a is weighty. For, he was the native of the same city—Damascus—where al-Awzā'i had flourished about a century ago. He is thus expected to have an intimate knowledge of al-Awzā'i. Presumably

in 88/706, al-Awzā'i, poor and orphan, was brought up by his mother. Before he was in his teens, al-Awzā'i precociously acquired erudition in the sciences of al-Qur'an, Tradition and rhetoric, and, at his thirteenth, he was called upon to decide legal issues (*fatwā*). Al-Awzā'i came down to Damascus and settled at Awzā' in the suburb of the city. Here he spent the best years of his life. Later, at an advanced age, he moved to Bayrūt where in the bath he died on Sunday, the 28th Šafar, 157/773 as a frontier-guard (*murābiṭ*). He maintained himself by his penmanship.¹

Al-Awzā'i undertook journey in quest of knowledge (*riḥla fi ṭalab al-'ilm*). He proceeded to al-Bašra with a view to studying under the celebrated al-Ḥasan al-Bašrī (d. 110) but, to his disappointment, the savant had died forty days before his arrival. There he met Muḥammad b. Sīrīn (d. 110) at his death-bed.²

A great Traditionist and an accomplished jurist (Faqīh) al-Awzā'i was eloquently spoken of by his contemporary scholars. In Ḥadīth he was a pupil of Muḥammad b. Shihāb al-Zuhri (d. 124), Nāfi' (d. 117)

for this reason, the Traditionist and historian al-Dhahabī [*Tadhkira*, ed. Hyderābād, Vol. I, p. 168 (sic) اصله من سبى السند and al-'Alnī 'Umdat al-Qāri, ed. Egypt, Vol. I, p. 465 (sic) اصله من سبى الهند] have corroborated Abū Zur'a. See also Šafī ud-Dīn's *Khulāsa Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*, (Egypt, 1322 A.H.), p. 197.

That al-Awzā'i was an Indian in descent is, further, borne out by the name of his grandfather Yuhmid which was probably equivalent to, or contracted from, Brahmadā or Brahmananda. Yuhmid appears to have been captured, by the Arabs in their expedition to India during the Caliphate of 'Umar (*vide supra*, p. 193).

1. Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt* (Egypt, 1310 A.H.) Vol. I, p. 275; Nawawī, pp. 382 seq; Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Huffāz*, Vol. I, pp. 168 seq; *Ansāb*, fol. 53b; Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb*, Vol. VI, pp. 238 seq; Yāfi'ī, *Mīr' at al-Jinān*, Vol. I, p. 333; *Shadharāt*, Vol. I, p. 242.

2. *Tadhkira*, p. 169.

and other distinguished *Tabi'un*, Followers.¹ He was pioneer in the collection and codification of Hadith in Syria.² The fact that several of his *Shuyūkh*³ and the Traditionists of the eminence of Mālik (d. 179), Sufyān al-Thawrī, Shu'bā and 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mubārak read Hadith literature with him, throws light on the great mastery he had in the science.

During his life-time, al-Awzā'i was a star of the first magnitude in the firmament of Hadith literature.⁴ An accredited authority on *Sunna* of Syria, he offered the decision of 7,000 or 8,000 legal points *extempore*.⁵ He also compiled two works in Fiqh, namely, *Kitāb al-Sunna fi 'l Fiqh* and *Kitāb al-Masā'il fi 'l Fiqh*.⁶ As a matter of fact, his accomplishments in religious and legal matters, his piety and asceticism⁷ elevated him to the rank of an *Imām*, and his school flourished in Syria and Spain during his life-time and after.⁸ "The salient feature of his system", says Imām al-Shāfi'i, "consisted in a happy synthesis of Traditions and his wonderfully sharp legal acumen."⁹ Up to the middle of the fourth century, *Awzā'yiat* was a living order in Damascus;¹⁰ there was provision for imparting lessons on, and publishing *Fatwā* in accordance with, his *Madhhab*. His school, however, was gradually eclipsed by the growing popularity of the Ḥanafite and the Mālikite systems, and does not seem to have survived later than the fifth century A.H.

1. Nawawī, pp. 383-84; Ibn Ḥajar, pp. 338-39.

2. Ibn Ḥajar, *Muqaddimat al-Fatḥ al-Bārī* (Egypt, 1374 A.H.) Vol. I, p. 4.

3. Viz. Qatāda, Zuhri and Yaḥyā b. Abī Kathīr.

4. *Ency. of Islām*, Vol. I, p. 524.

5. Nawawī, p. 384; Ibn Ḥajar, p. 242.

6. Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, p. 318.

7. He has been included among the early ascetics (Ibn al-Nadīm, p. 260).

8. *Tadhkira*, p. 173; Ibn Ḥajar p. 242.

9. *Ibid*.

10. Maqdisī, *Aḥsan al-Taqāsīm*, pp. 27; Dhahabī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥuffā*; (MS. Bānkipūr, Patna) fol. 194-96.

Al-Awzā'i had the courage of conviction. He denounced in no unequivocal terms al-Ṣaffā, the first 'Abbāsid Caliph (132-6/750-3), for his lust of Umayyad blood, and incurred his wrath. The Caliph was, however, later, pleased with his uprightness.¹

Al-Mansūr (136-158/753-74) held al-Awzā'i in high esteem and listened to his lectures with attention and respect.²

2. *Najih 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Sindī* (d. 170/786)

A contemporary and a fellow-student of al-Awzā'i, Najih 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Sindī,³ surnamed Abū Ma'shar, was originally a native of Sind.⁴ Kidnapped in boyhood, he was sold into the hands of a certain woman of the Banū Makhzūm in al-Madīna. During his serfdom, Abū Ma'shar sat at the feet of the distinguished *Ṭabī'un* of al-Madīna, viz. Nāfi' (d. 117), Muḥammad b. Ka'ab al-Quraṣī (d. 108), Muḥammad b. al-Munkadir (d. 130), Sa'id al-Muqbarī (d. 125) and Hishām b. 'Urwa (d. 146), and acquired proficiency in Ḥadīth and *Maghāzī*, particularly in the latter on which he was reckoned as an authority.⁵

Soon Abū Ma'shar purchased his freedom and curved out a *ḥalqa* (study-circle) of his own in al-Madīna where he lectured on Ḥadīth, *Maghāzī* and Fiqh. Amongst his devoted pupils who transmitted

1. *Tadhkira*, pp. 170-71.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 172.

3. Ibn al-'Imād (*Shadharāt*, Vol. I, p. 419) misreads al-Sindī as al-Sanadī—a reading that has been followed by Ahmad Sa'id in his *Ghulāmān-i-Islām* (Delhi, 1940), p. 350. For correct and popular reading, vide *Ansāb*, fol. 314b; *Taqwīb*, p. 370.

4. Says Abū Nu'aim *معشر سندی* (ابو) 'Abū Ma'shar was a native of Sind' (Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, Vol. XIII, p. 458). Also cf. *Ansāb*, loc. cit.; al-Dūlābī, *Kitāb al-Kunā wa'l-Asmā'* (Hyderābād, 1322 A.H.) Vol. II, p. 120; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, Vol. III, p. 166; al-Maqdisī, *Kitāb al-Ansāb*, pp. 77; *Tadhkira*, Vol. I, p. 216; *Tahdhīb*, Vol. X, p. 419; *Mizān*, Vol. II, p. 228, Ma'ārif, Vol. XXII, No. (4), pp. 251-52.

5. *Khaṭīb*, p. 457.

Ḥadīth on his authority, mentioned may be made of his son Muḥammad (d. 222), Sufyān al-Thawrī, al-Laith b. Sa'd, Hushaim, Wakī' and Wāqidī.¹

Already by the middle of the second century, his reputation as a scholar had been established. For, al-Mahdī (158-69/774-85), on the occasion of his visit to Makka in 160/776, made a present of 1,000 dinārs to Abū Ma'shar in recognition of his scholarship. Further, the Caliph invited him to reside in Baghdād imparting instructions to the princes. Thus he bade adieu to al-Madīna and left for Baghdād in 161 A.H.²

There, in the 'Abbasid court, Abū Ma'shar was a prominent figure among the learned.³ He died in Ramaḍān, 170/786. His funeral service was led by Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd himself.⁴ With a bulky figure of grey-white complexion, Abū Ma'shar was a stammerer; he pronounced Muḥammad b. Ka'ab as Qa'ab.

Abū Ma'shar as a Transmitter of Ḥadīth.

As a *Rawī* of Ḥadīth, Abū Ma'shar has been critically judged by Yaḥyā b. Mu'īn, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, al-Bukhārī, Muslim, Abū Dāwūd, al-Nasā'ī and others. The majority are of opinion that *Maghāzī* was his favourite subject; in Ḥadīth, he could not fare well.⁵ While a few including Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and Abū Zur'a (d. 281) regard him as fairly trustworthy. "I have not seen," says his pupil Hushaim, "one like him or more intelligent than he."⁷ But all the views have been very well summed up by al-Tirmidhī when he

1. Ibid.; *Tahdhīb*, pp. 419-20.

2. *Khaṣīb*, p. 458.

3. *Ency. of Islām*, Vol. I, p. 100.

4. *Ansāb*, loc. cit.

5. *Tahdhīb*, loc. cit.

6. *Tahdhīb*, loc. cit.

7. *Tahdhīb*, p. 420.

says : *تکلم اهل العالم من قبل حفظه* " His memory has been subjected to criticism."¹ As a matter of fact, in his old age Abū Ma'shar was a doomed man, his brain being deranged and memory confused.² To add to this, he had to deal with a vast mass of Traditions.³ No wonder, then, that he should have failed to control them effectively. Though he was declared *Da'if*, a weak authority,⁴ nevertheless, his Traditions were received and recorded by his pupils.⁵ Al-Nasā'ī, however, accepted him as guaranteed (*Hujjat*).⁶

Abū Ma'shar was the author of *Kitāb al-Maghāzi*, noticed by Ibn al-Nadīm,⁷ which survives only in fragments numerous of which have been preserved by al-Wāqidi and Ibn Sa'd in their works. Al-Ṭabarī has taken from him information on Biblical history and on the life of the Prophet and especially chronological statements, these latter going down to the very year of his death.⁸

The Aḥādīth transmitted on his authority are recorded in the four *Sunans*.⁹

An erstwhile Indian *Mawlā*, Abū Ma'shar achieved great success in life. He was one of the early Islamic scholars who was intimately associated with the growth of Arab historiography and oral transmission of Hadīth. It is significant that by his own elevation he raised the status of his house ; and his son and grandsons handed on the torch of knowledge for the hundred years to come. The legacy of Abū Ma'shar, therefore, calls for more than a passing notice.

1. Ibid., p. 421.

2. *Khaṭīb*, p. 460 ; *Tahdhīb*, loc. cit ; *Taqrīb*, p. 372.

3. Ibn Sa'd, Vol. V. p. 309.

4. Ibid., *Tahdhīb*, *Khaṭīb*, etc.

5. *Tahdhīb*, p. 421.

6. *Tahdhīb*, loc. cit.

7. *Fihrist*, p. 136.

8. *Encyclopaedia of Islām*, Vol. I, p. 100.

9. *Taqrīb*, p. 372 ; *Tahdhīb*, p. 319.

3. *Muḥammad b. Abī Ma'shar al-Sindi* (148-247/765-861)

A son of Abū Ma'shar, Muḥammad was born in al-Madīna in 148/765. In his boyhood he attended the lectures of the celebrated Ibn Abī Dhī'b (d. 159). In al-Madīna he could not, however, live long. For, while yet a youngster, he accompanied his father to Baghdād in 161/777. Muḥammad, therefore, could not receive instructions from other scholars of al-Madīna particularly Mālīk b. Anas (d. 179).

Founded in 148/765 by al-Manṣūr (136-58/753-74), Baghdād, the 'Abbāsīd capital, soon became a cynosure of glory and power and splendour.¹ As an intellectual centre, it was up to the time of al-Rashīd (170-93/786-808), an infant, and was no match for al-Madīna, al-Kūfa or al-Baṣra. Nor did migrate thither many scholars of fame. This was probably the reason why save his father no distinguished scholar has been mentioned amongst Muḥammad's teachers. The want of a good tutor was, however, compensated by Abū Ma'shar who personally took up the charge of his son's instructions. Soon Muḥammad acquired erudition in Ḥadīth and *Maghāzī*, the pet subjects of his father.

A scholar-son of a scholar-father. Muḥammad was the custodian of the latter's learning. Students and would-be Traditionists and Historiographers came to Baghdād to study under him. Abū 'Isā al-Tirmidhī (d. 279), Abū Ḥatīm al-Rāzī (d. 277), Ibn Abī al-Dunyā (d. 288) and al-Ṭabarī (d. 310) were among his pupils who need no introduction to the students of Islamic history and Traditions. His two sons, al-Ḥusain and Dāwūd, Abū Ya'la al-Mawṣilī, Ya'qūb b. Musā al-Balkhī (d. 240) and Muḥammad b. al-Laith al-Jawharī (d. 242) also studied under him. For his

1. Hitti, *The History of the Arabs*, p. 301 seq.

monumental Universal History, al-Ṭabarī derived through his teacher Muḥammad vast wealth of material from Abū Ma'shar.¹

Muḥammad is a trustworthy guarantor of Ḥadīth and has been referred to by Ibn Hibbān in his *Kitāb al-Thiqāt*. He accumulated the Aḥādīth received time to time from his father in several books which were utilized by scholars during his life-time. He died in 247/861 at the ripe age of 99 leaving two fairly educated sons—al-Husain and Dāwūd.² The *Jamī'* of al-Tirmidhī preserves his Traditions.³

4. *Al-Ḥusain b. Muḥammad b. Abī Ma'shar al-Sindī*
(d. 275/888).

Among his teachers he mentions his father Muḥammad, Waki' b. al-Jarrāḥ (d. 197) and Muḥammad b. Rabī'a (d. 199). He was known as *Ṣaḥīb Waki'*, a pupil of Waki'. Al-Ḥusain maintained, to some extent, the reputation of his house by imparting lessons in Ḥadīth. Unfortunately, he was not found worthy for transmission of Ḥadīth. Hence his traditions were not accepted.

Al-Ḥusain transferred his residence from Baghdād to Khurāsān where he died on Monday, the 21st Rajab, 275/888.⁴

5. *Dāwūd b. Muḥammad* (d. ca. 280/893).

He transmitted the *Kitāb al-Maghāzī* of his grandfather, Abū Ma'shar, on the authority of his father. Aḥmad b. Kāmil, the Qaḍī of Baghdād, studied under him. Dāwūd does not, however, seem

1. *Vide supra*, p. 204.

2. *Khaṭīb*, Vol. III, pp. 329 seq; *Ansāb*, fol. 314b; *Tahdhīb*, Vol. IX, p. 437; *Taqrīb*, p. 340.

3. *Khuṭūba*, p. 309.

4. *Khaṭīb*, Vol. VIII, p. 91; *Mizān*, Vol. I, p. 256.

to have taken a prominent part in cultural activities. His death date is not known.¹

6. *Al-Qāsim b. al-'Abbās al-Ma'sharī* (d. 278/892).

Al-Qāsim, who seems to be the last luminary of the house of Abū Ma'shar, was at once a Traditionist, Jurist and an ascetic. He was the son of the daughter of Abū Ma'shar and became famous as al-Ma'sharī. He studied under Abū'l-Walīd al-Ṭayālīsī (d. 277), Musaddad (d. 228) and other scholars. Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1070) states that al-Qāsim occupied a high place in Ḥadīth, Taṣawwūf and Fiqh and that in spite of his age he was as sound as ever. Indeed, he was a fairly reliable Transmitter of Ḥadīth. Says al-Dāraquṭnī (d. 385): 'There is nothing against him.'

Aḥmad b. Kāmil, Qādī of Baghdād, Abū Bakr al-Shāfi'ī and Abū 'Amr b. al-Sammāk transmitted Ḥadīth on the authority of al-Qāsim. His death took place on Friday, the 2nd Shawwāl, 278/January, 892.²

7. *Khalaf b. Sālim al-Sindī al-Mukharrimī*
(162-231/778-845).

Khalaf b. Sālim al-Sindī al-Mukharrimī, a *maula* of al-Muhāliba,³ was Indian in origin.⁴ His *nisba* al-Mukharrimī was due to his residence at al-Mukharrim, a famous quarter of Baghdād,⁵ where he died on the 23rd Ramaḍān, 231/845.⁶

1. Ibid. p. 396.

2. Khaṭīb, vol. XIII, p. 436; *Ansāb*, fol. 537a.

3. Muḥallab b. Abī Ṣufra (d. 82) and his descendants are styled as al-Muhāliba (Al-Mubarrad, Kāmil, quoted in *Oriental College Magazine*, Lahore, February, 1934.)

4. *Vide supra*, pp. 26-28.

5. Le Strange, pp. 31, 33.

6. Khaṭīb, Vol. VIII, pp. 328 seq; *Tahdhīb*, Vol. III, p. 152; *Mizān*, Vol. I, p. 310.

Khalaf was a brilliant *Ṭalīb al-'Ilm*, student of Hadīth literature for the acquisition of which he ransacked all the treasures of al-Hijāz, al-Shām and al-'Irāq. A pretty long list of his *Shuyukh*, inhabiting different Muslim countries, gives us some idea of what painstaking labour Khalaf underwent on that account : viz., Hushaim (d. 183) and Yazīd b. Hārūn (d. 206) of al-Wāsiṭ; Ibn 'Ulayya (d. 193), Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd al-Qaṭṭān (d. 198) and Muḥammad b. Ja'far Ghandar (d. 193) of al-Baṣra; Ma'an b. 'Isā (d. 198) of al-Madīnā; 'Abd al-Razzāq (d. 211) of al-Yaman; Abū Bakr b. 'Ayyāsh (d. 193), Abū Numair (d. 199), Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Zubairī (d. 203) and Faḍl b. Dakīn (d. 219) of al-Kūfa and Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm (d. 208) and Sa'd b. Ibrāhīm (d. 201) of Baghdād.¹

The following is the summary of judgment passed on Khalaf as a Traditionist by eminent critics :—

(1) Yaḥyā b. Mu'in (d. 233): Truthful (صدوق); in another place he says, "There is nothing wrong with him on record."

(2) Ya'qūb b. Abī Shayba (d. 262): Reliable and steadfast (ثقة ثبت). He is more steadfast than Musuddad (d. 228) or al-Ḥumaidī (d. 219).

(3) Al-Nasā'ī (d. 303): Abū Muḥammad Khalaf al-Mukharrimī is reliable (ثقة).

(4) Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241): His fidelity cannot be doubted.

(5) Ibn Ḥibbān (d. 354): One of the consummate masters in the science of Tradition (حذاق المتقين).

(6) Ḥamza al-Kinānī: Most reliable from the rank of the Traditionists.²

1. Khaṭīb, loc. cit; Taḥdhīb, loc. cit.

2. Ibid.

As a matter of fact, Khalaf was one of the erudite *Huffāz* of Baghdād.¹ His *ḥalqa* was a resort of Traditionists and scholars who attended his lectures and copied Aḥādīth from him.² Of his pupils 'Uthmān al-Dārimī (d. 280), Ya'qūb b. Abī Shayba (d. 261), Aḥmad b. Abī Khaythama (d. 278), Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Marwazī (d. 298), 'Abbās al-Dārī (d. 271) and Ismā'il b. Ḥārith (d. 253) were noted Traditionists.³

Khalaf compiled a *Musnad* on Apostolic Traditions⁴ which is not, however, extant. On the equality of the Companions of the Prophet, he collected a number of Aḥādīth but he did not transmit them.⁵

8. *Rajā' b. al-Sindī* (d. 221/837)

Rajā', a Traditionist of the early third century of Hijra, was the son of an Indian *mawlā* of the Banū Hanẓala as would be evidenced from his *nisba* al-Hanẓali.⁶ He settled down at Isfarā'yīn, a northern district of Nishāpūr⁷ and became famous as al-Isfarā'yīnī accordingly.⁸

In his native province Khurāsān, Rajā' took lessons in Ḥadīth from the celebrated 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mubārak (d. 181) of Marw. The greater part of his educational career was, however, spent at al-Kūfa where he studied under the eminent Traditionists like Ibn Idrīs (d. 192), Abū Bakr b. 'Ayyāsh (d. 193), Hafṣ b. Ghiyāth (d. 194) and Sufyān b. 'Uayna (d. 198).⁹

1. *Tadhkira*, p. 59 (sic) من اعيان حفاظ بغداد

2. Ibn Sa'd, vol. VII, part II, p. 92. Several of his Aḥādīth are in the *Sunān* of al-Nasā'ī (*Khulāṣa*, p. 90).

3. *Khaṭīb* loc. cit.; *Tadhkir* loc. cit.

4. Ibn Sa'd, loc. cit.

5. *Khaṭīb*; *Tadhkir*.
Ansāb, fol. 314a, 314b.

La Strange, p. 391.

Tadhkir, Vol. III, pp. 267-68; *Taqrib*, p. 123.

Ibid.

Equipped with a fair share of knowledge in Ḥadīth literature, Rajā' retired to his home at Isfārā'yin where, first of all, he introduced the learning into his own family which was destined to produce two other noted Traditionists of the third century.¹ Soon his house became an object of *Rihla fī ṭalab al-'Ilm*, and many an ardent student of Ḥadīth literature clustered round this son of an Indian *mawla*. Among his contemporary Traditionists, the celebrated Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241), Bīkr b. Khalaf (d. 241) and Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā al-Rāzī (d. 231) received Ḥadīth from him. His grandson Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Rajā' al-Sindī (d. 286), Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (d. 277), Ibn Abī al-Dunyā (d. 281) and Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. Shākīr al-Ṣā'igh (d. 289) read Ḥadīth with him.²

During his life-time Rajā' was a pillar of Ḥadīth literature;³ he took a prominent part in its oral transmission. A stainless and reliable *Rāwī* apart, Rajā' was a master of Arabic diction. "I have not seen," says Bīkr b. Khalaf, "a better eloquent speaker than he." He died in Shawwāl, 221/837.⁴

9. *Muḥammad b. Rajā' al-Sindī* (d. circ. 246/860)

Muḥammad, surnamed Abū 'Abd Allāh, was the son of Rajā' al-Sindī. Of his early education we know but very little. Apparently after attaining some knowledge of Ḥadīth under his father, he went to Balkh where at Barjumin, he read with Makkī b. Ibrāhīm (d. 215). On finishing his studies, he made a pilgrimage to Makka and availed himself of the opportunity to gather Traditions from Makkan scholars. In the course of his homeward journey, he halted in Baghdād for some time and lectured on

1. *I.e.* his son and grandson.

2. *Tahdhīb*, loc. cit.

3. ركن من أركان الحديث Ibid.

4. Ibid.

Hadīth. Meanwhile, Abū Bakr b. Abī 'l-Dunya (d. 281), the *Ḥāfiẓ*, formerly a student of his father and Aḥmad b. Bishr al-Murthidī received Hadīth from him¹—a fact that shows what an eminent position he held in the domain of the science.

At Isfarā'yin Muḥammad devoted himself to cultural activities. He maintained the reputation of the *ḥalqa* which had grown under his father. Of his pupils, most conspicuous were Abū Bakr Ibrāhīm b. 'Alī al-Dhuhli and his own son Muḥammad. He was in the habit of carefully noting the Traditions received from his *Shuyukh* and transmitting them accordingly. He died probably about the middle of the third century. The date is not known.²

10. *Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Rajā' al-Sindī*
(206-286 A.H.).

A distinguished scion of the house of Rajā' al-Sindī, Muḥammad was born in 206 A.H. His deep erudition in Apostolic Traditions, his fidelity, and critical insight and above all his insatiable thirst for knowledge made him an outstanding Traditionist of the third century of the Hijra. The brief biographical note about him given by Dhahabī in his *Tadhkirat al-Ḥuffāẓ* is well worth being reproduced. "Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Rajā' b. al-Sindī, the *Ḥāfiẓ* and *Imām*, surnamed Abū Bakr of Isfarā'yin, was the celebrated author of a *Mustakhraj* of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim.³ He studied (Hadīth) under Ishāq b. Raḥway (d. 238), Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241), 'Alī al-Madanī (d. 231), 'Abd Allāh b. Numair (d. 199), Abū Bakr b. Abī Shayba (d. 235) and the like. He made an extensive tour (in quest of Hadīth). While Abū

1. *Khaṭīb*. Vol. V, pp. 276-77; *Ansāb*, fol. 314b.

2. *Ibid.*

3. The work does not seem to be extant.

'Awāna (d. 310), Abū Hāmid al-Sharqī, Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥānī, Ibn al-Akḥram, Abū 'l-Naḍr and others transmitted Ḥadīth on the authority of Abū Bakr. Al-Ḥākim says, "Honest and steadfast, par excellence, Abū Bakr was in the front rank among the Traditionists of his age."¹ Abū Bakr's sphere of activity did not confine itself merely to Isfarā'yīn as he was found narrating Aḥādīth in Makka where an eager audience including Abū Ḥatīm (d. 277) gathered round him to receive them. He died in 286/899 at the age of eighty.²

11. *Al-Sindī b. 'Abduwaih al-Dahakī*
(d. circ. 215/830).

Al-Sindī who was otherwise famous as al-Dahakī, that is, a native of Dahak, a village in Ray, was, as the patronymic al-Sindī suggests, an Indian *mawla*.³ As an early *Rāwī*, al-Sindī transmitted Ḥadīth on the authority of Abū 'Uwa'is al-Aṣḥabī (d. 169),⁴ a student of al-Zuhri, and also on the authority of several other Traditionists of al-Madīna and al-'Irāq. Among his pupils mention has been made of Muḥammad b. Ḥammād al-Ṭihirānī (d. 271).⁵

12. *Sahl b. 'Abd-al-Raḥmān al-Sindī*
(d. circ. 225/839).

Sahl, a freed man of the Banū Dhuhl, was a scholar of Traditions. He narrated Ḥadīth from Zuhair b. Mu'āwiya (d. 172), Jarīr b. Ḥāzim (d. 170), Sharīk b. Ḥāzim and others. He was a Qaḍī of Hamadān and Qazwīn. 'Amr b. Rāfi' (d. 237) and

1. *Tadhkira*, Vol. II, pp. 230-31.

2. *Ansāb*, fol. 314b; *Tadhkira*, loc. cit.

3. *Ansāb*, fol. 235b.

4. His full name was 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Uwa'is b. Mālik b. Abī 'Āmir al-Aṣḥabī al-Madanī. Cf. *Khulāṣa*, p. 172.

5. *Ansāb*, loc. cit.

Muḥammad b. Hammād al-Ṭehrānī (271) were among his pupils. Sahl̄ seems to have flourished in the early third century of Hijra.¹

13. *Al-Faṭḥ b. 'Abd Allāh al-Sindī*
(d. ca. 275/888).

Al-Faṭḥ, surnamed Abū Naṣr al-Sindī, was a freed man of the family of al-Ḥakam; he was at once a Jurist, a Theologian and a Traditionist. In Fiqh and Kalām, he was a student of 'Abū 'Alī al-Thaqafī, while he read Ḥadīth with al-Ḥusain b. Sufyān (d. 303) and others. In what a high esteem Abū Naṣr al-Sindī was held by the men of his time may be judged from a train of admirers that followed him when walking.²

14. *Aḥmad b. Sindī b. Farrūkh* (d. circ. 275/888).

Aḥmad was a disciple of Ya'qūb b. Ibrāhīm al-Daurqī (d. 252) of Baghdād who was a *shaykh* of al-Bukhārī (d. 256) and Muslim (d. 262).³ He resided in Baghdād and was found lecturing on Ḥadīth literature in al-Baṣra where 'Abd Allāh b. 'Ādī al-Jurjānī (?) studied the subject with him. He supported himself with embroidery and became famous as *al-muṭarriz*, the embroiderer.⁴

15. *Ḥubaish b. al-Sindī al-Qatī'i* (d. circ. 280/893).

He was a pupil of the celebrated Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and also of 'Ubaid Allāh b. Muḥammad al-'Ayshī (?). Muḥammad b. Mukhallad⁵ narrated Ḥadīth from him.⁶

1. Ibid., fol. 314b.

2. Ibid.

3. Khaṭīb, Vol. XIV, p. 277.

4. Khaṭīb, Vol. IV, p. 187; *Ansāb* fol. 314b.

5. *Mizān*, s.v. Md. b. Mukhallad.

6. Khaṭīb, Vol. VIII, p. 282.

16. *Al-Sindī b. Abbān* (d. 281/894).

Al-Sindī b. Abbān surnamed *Abū Naṣr* was a *ghulam*, slave, of *Khalaf b. Hishām* (d. 227), a scholar of *Baghdād*. He had some interest in *Hadīth* and was a pupil of *Yahyā b. 'Abd al-Hamīd al-Himmānī* (d. 228), a Traditionist of *al-Kūfa*. 'Abd al-Ṣamad b. 'Alī al-Ṭashtī received *Hadīth* from him. He died in the month of *Dhū 'l-Hijja*, 281/894.¹

17. *Abū 'l-Fawāris Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. al-Sindī* (244-349 A.H.).

Aḥmad, as the patronymic *al-Sindī* suggests, was a great grandson of a certain Indian slave. He was born in *Egypt* in 244 A.H. and was probably connected with a soap manufacturing business which gave him the *nisba* *al-Ṣabūnī*. *Aḥmad* enjoyed a long life of one hundred and five years and died in *Shawwāl*, 349 A.H.² *Aḥmad* transmitted *Hadīth* on the authority of *al-Muzanī* (d. 264)³ and *Yūnus b. 'Abd al-'Alā* (d. 264), both Traditionists of *Egypt*, and *Muḥammad b. Ḥammad al-Ṭihirānī* (d. 271).⁴ Although *al-Suyūṭī* in his *Husn al-Muḥāḍira* speaks very highly of him as a respectable authority of Apostolic Traditions in *Egypt*,⁵ but in the opinion of more critical scholars of *Asmā' al-Rijāl*, like *al-Dhahabī* and *Ibn Ḥajar*, *Aḥmad* was hardly trustworthy. For, firstly he was responsible for giving circulation to a baseless (باطل) *Hadīth* from his *shaykh*, *Muḥammad al-Ṭihirānī* and, secondly, he was found to have narrated in the *Gharā'ib* of *Mālik* a *Hadīth*⁶ with *isnād* consisting of

1. Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 234.

2. *Mizān*, Vol. I, p. 71; *Lisān*, Vol. I, p. 296; *Suyūṭī*, *Husn al-Muḥāḍira fī Akhbār Misr wa 'l-Qāhira*, (Cairo, 1321 A.H.), Vol. I, p. 173; *Shadharāt*, Vol. II, p. 380.

3. He was a famous disciple of *Imām al-Shāfi'ī* (d. 204) (*Shadharāt*, Vol. II, p. 148).

4. *Mizān*, loc. cit; *Lisān*, loc. cit.

5. الثقة المعبر مسند ديار مصر.

6. Cf. *Mizān*, Vol. I, p. 433.

al-'Abbās b. al-Faḍl b. 'Awn al-Tanūhi and Sawāda b. Ibrāhīm al-Anṣārī of whom the first was a liar¹ and the other,² a weak authority (ضعيف). To add to the above, in the opinion of Ibn al-Mundhir, Aḥmad was a liar (كذاب).³

18. *Aḥmad b. Sindī b. al-Ḥasan b. Baḥr al-Ḥaddād* (d. 359/969).

Aḥmad, surnamed Abū Bakr al-Ḥaddād (the blacksmith) settled at Qaṭī'ya banī Jidār, a quarter in Baghdād.⁴ His teachers in Ḥadīth were Mūsā b. Hārūn, the Hāfiẓ (d. 294), Muḥammad b. al-'Abbās al-Muaddib (?) and al-Ḥasan b. 'Alūwīya al-Qaṭṭān (?). He was a reliable (*thiqa*) transmitter of Ḥadīth. Dāraquṭnī (d. 385) admitted him as such. Among his students, the famous was Abū Nu'aim al-Iṣfahānī. A saintly personage, Aḥmad was reckoned as one whose prayers were granted (سجاب الدعوة). He died in 359/969.⁵ The *nisba* al-Sindī refers to his Indian origin.⁶

19. *Naṣru'llāh b. Aḥmad b. al-Sindī* (d. 433/1041).

Naṣru'llāh, who was the grandson of a Sindī slave purchased in Khurāsān, became famous as Ibn al-Sindī. He narrated Ḥadīth on the authority of Abū 'l-Qāsim b. Sābnak (?). Ibn al-Sindī had the privilege of being a *shaykh* of al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463) who copied Aḥādīth from him and regarded him *ṣaduq* (truthful). He died in Dhū 'l-Qa'da, 433 A.H.⁷

1. *Misān*, Vol. II, p. 19.

2. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 433.

3. *Lisān*, Vol. I, p. 296.

4. *Ansāb*, foll. 124a, 314b. The name of the quarter is misprinted in Khaṭīb (Vol. IV, p. 187), as Qaṭī'a Banī Ḥaddād.

5. Khaṭīb, Vol. IV, p. 187.

6. Yāqūt (Vol. II, p. 37) misprints al-Sindī as al-Sayyidi. For correct reading, *Ansāb*, loc. cit, Khaṭīb, loc. cit.

7. Khaṭīb, Vol. XIII, p. 302.

20. *Abū Muḥammad Bakhtiyār b. 'Abd Allāh al-Hindī* (d. 541/1149).

Abū Muḥammad al-Hindī was a freedman of Abū Bakr Muḥammad al-Sam'ānī, (466-510), the father of 'Abd al-Karīm al-Sam'ānī (506-66), the author of the *Kitāb al-Ansāb*. His *nisba* al-Hindī refers to his origin from India.

Abū Muḥammad studied Ḥadīth under his master Abū Bakr who took him with him for further education in the subject to al-'Irāq, al-Hijāz and al-Shām. Thus in Baghdād he acquired Ḥadīth from Ja'far b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusain al-Sarrāj, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Salām al-Anṣārī and others; at Hamadān, from 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥamd b. al-Ḥasan al-Duwīnī; at Isfahān, from Muḥammad b. al-Ḥaddād. 'Abd al-Karīm al-Sam'ānī heard from him a few Traditions. He died at Marw in Ṣafar, 541/1149.¹

21. *Abū 'l-Ḥasan Bakhtiyār b. 'Abdullāh al-Hindī* (d. 543/1151).

A contemporary and probably a brother of Abū Muḥammad al-Hindī just noticed, Abū 'l-Ḥasan was a Traditionist and an Ascetic (*Ṣufī*). He was a freedman of Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Ya'qūbi, a *Qaḍī* of Bushanj,² and became famous as a teacher of 'Abd al-Karīm al-Sam'ānī. Like Abū Muḥammad al-Hindī, Abū 'l-Ḥasan travelled with his master in Muslim lands hearing Ḥadīth from noted Traditionists, viz., al-Sharīf Abū Naṣr Muḥammad, Abū 'l-Fawāris Muḥammad b. 'Alī and Rizqu 'llāh b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb

1. *Ansāb*, foll. 593a, 593b; *Ma'ārif*, Vol. XXIV, No. 4, p. 249.

2. *Le Strange*, p. 431.

al-Tamīmī of Baghdād; ‘Alī b. Aḥmad b. Alī al-Sitrī, ‘Abd al-Mālik b. ‘Alī (b. Khalaf b. Shu‘ba), the *Ḥafīẓ* and Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-‘Abdī of al-Baṣra. Besides, a number of contemporary Traditionists of Iṣpahān, al-Jabāl and Khuzistān were also included among his teachers. Al-Sam‘ānī states that he received Hadith from him at Qawshanj and Herāt. He died in 543 or 542/1151.¹

1. *Ansāb*, fol. 593 b; Ma‘ārif, loc. cit.

CHAPTER II

AL-ṢAGHĀNĪ AND HIS WORKS

AS al-Ṣaghānī, by his unique contribution to Ḥadīth literature, forms a class by himself, we have thought it proper to devote one whole and independent chapter to him.

Section I

HIS SHORT BIOGRAPHY.

Al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaghānī al-Lāhūrī (577-650/1181-1252)

Radī al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Ḥaydar al-Qurashī al-ʿUmarī al-Ḥanafī, popularly called al-Ṣaghānī, was born at Lahore on Thursday, Ṣafar 10, 577/July, 1181. He was first educated under his father Muḥammad, a scholar of distinction. It is said that during his early years al-Ṣaghānī² earned a reward of 1,000 dinārs by committing to memory the *Gharāʾib* of Abū ʿUbaid al-Qāsim b. al-Sallām (d.240)—a fact which speaks a volume about the extraordinary memory he possessed. While scarcely twenty-five, al-Ṣaghānī acquired a great proficiency in Hanafite Fiqh. Sultān Quṭb al-Dīn Aybak (602-7/1205-10) then offered him the Qāḍiship of Lahore which he, however, refused to accept, and left for Ghaznī in pursuit of higher studies.³ He subsequently travelled widely in al-ʿIrāq and al-Ḥijāz devoting

1. The *nisba* al-Ṣaghānī suggests that al-Ḥasan's forefathers were originally the natives of Ṣaghānīyān, a district town in the Transoxania (Le Strange, p. 440) from where they migrated to India.

2. ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Nadawī, *Nuṣṣa* (MS), Vol. I, s.v. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Ṣaghānī.

himself assiduously to the acquirement of the sciences of Tradition and philology under distinguished professors. The exact duration of his *wanderjahr* in al-'Irāq where, in Baghdād, he read with al-Nazzām al-Marghīnānī and Sa'īd b. al-Razzāz (d. 616),¹ cannot be ascertained. By 610/1213 from which dates the beginning of his career as a Traditionist in al-Hijāz, al-Ṣaghānī became popular in the learned circles. For, in that year as he entered al-Yaman, he was received very warmly. Here at Aden he studied until he reached Makka in 613/1216 where he met the famous Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī (d. 626) for the last time.² Of his shayūkh in Makka, the name of Burhān al-Dīn al-Ḥuṣrī (d. 618) has been preserved for us.³ On finishing his studies al-Ṣaghānī arrived in Ṣafar, 615/April, 1218 in Baghdād where a recusing reception was accorded him. Caliph al-Nāṣir (577-623/1181-1226) himself invested him with a robe of honour. Al-Saghānī finally settled down in Baghdād and enjoyed patronage from the 'Abbāsīd Caliphs. In 617/1220 Caliph al-Nāṣir appointed him ambassador for the court of Delhi under İltutmish (607-33/1210-36)⁴ an office which al-Ṣaghānī held for twenty long years. He hastened back to Baghdād in 624/1227 presumably on the death of al-Nāṣir and was again appointed to the same post by Caliph al-Mustansīr (624-45/1227-47)⁵ in Sha'bān of that very year. The fact that the historian Minhāj al-Sirāj records in his *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* the arrival of the 'Abbāsīd ambassador in India in 625/1228, seems to further

1. Shadharāt, Vol. p. 250.

2. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Udabā'*, ed. Dr. Aḥmad Farīd Rifa'i (Cairo, 1936), Vol. IX, pp. 189-191. This shows that al-Ṣaghānī was quite familiar with Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī (d. 626).

3. Shadharāt, loc. cit.

4. *Nuzha*, loc. cit.; al-Qurashī, *al-fuwākhir al-Mudayya fi Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanafīyya* (Hyderābād, 1332 A.H.), Vol. I, pp. 201-02.

5. Al-Qurashī, loc. cit.

corroborate the above appointment.¹ Al-Ṣaghānī finally returned to Baghdād in 637/1239. It may be that the chaotic and complicated situation arising at the Court out of the murder of Sulṭāna Raḍiyya (634-37/1236-40) compelled the ambassador to leave Delhi.²

The remaining years of his life al-Saghānī devoted exclusively to compilation and teaching Hadīth and philology. He always had a crowd of pupils to surround him. The Traditionist Sharaf al-Dīn al-Dimyātī (d. 705), the shaykh of our al-Dhahabī (d. 735), was one of the pupils of al-Ṣaghānī. He died at his residence at Harīm al-Zāhiri in Baghdād in Sha'bān, 650/October, 1252. His body was removed to Makka according to a testament of his and was interred therein.³ As a tribute to his memory al-Dimyātī says, "A devout professor seldom given to idle talks, al-Ṣaghānī was a great authority of Tradition, Philology and Jurisprudence".⁴ No greater testimony to his wide survey in Hadīth literature could have been adduced than what he himself maintained in his al-'Abāb, "I have heard in Makka, India, al-Yaman and Baghdād

1. *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, p. 174; Ulughkhānī op. cit., Vol. II, p. 698. It seems that there is something wrong either with the date 624 A.H. as given by al-Qurashī, or with 625 A.H. as given by Minhāj al-Sirāj. For al-Ṣaghānī could not possibly have taken more than a month to reach India from Baghdād overland (Ulughkhānī, loc. cit.)

2. Cf. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, pp. 60-61.

3. Al-Qurashī, loc. cit.; Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-Huffā*; s.v. al-Hasan al-Ṣaghānī; Muḥammad b. Shākir al-Kutbī, *Fuwāt al-Wafayāt*, ed. Egypt, Vol. I, p. 133; Tāsh Kuprīzāda, *Miṣṣāḥ al-Sa'āda* (Ilyderābād, 1328 A.H.), Vol. I, pp. 98-99; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyah* (Cairo, 1328), pp. 227-28; Azniqī, *Madīnat al-'Ulūm* (Ms. Bānkīpūr), fol. 90b; 'Alī al-Qārī *Asmā, al-Hanafīyya* (Ms. Bānkīpūr, Vol. XII, No. 763) foll. 77b, 78a; Qāsim Quṭlūghā, *Ṭabaqāt al-Hanafīyya*, p. 17; *Subḥat*, p. 29; Ma'athar pp. 180-83; *Abjad*, pp. 525, 890; *Ithāf*, p. 243; Lakhnawī, *Fawā'id*, pp. 29-30; Rahmān 'Alī, *T: 'Ulamā Hadā'iq*; pp. 253-55; Ma'ārif, Vol. XXII No. 4 pp. 252-53; Vol. XXIV 4, pp. 4-13, art. Imām Saghānī by Sayyid Hasan Baranī, B.A., LL. B (Alig.); Būhār Cat., Vol. II, pp. 30-31; Bānkīpūr Cat. V 2, pp. 94-95; Idāra-i-Ma'ārif-Islāmīyya, Proceedings of the Session 1933 held at Lahore, pp. 326-27; *Ency. of Islām* s.v. al-Hasan al-Ṣaghānī.

4. Al-Qurashī, loc. cit.

musalsal traditions close upon four hundred which is a record number.¹

Al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Ṣaghānī was a recognized authority on Ḥadīth and Philology. He has left for us thirty-two works,² of which as many as nine have been noticed by Brockelmann.³ Although the bulk of these works is on Philology, those dealing with Ḥadīth literature are of special significance, purporting, as they do, to popularize the genuine Aḥādīth of the Prophet, which since the beginning of the fifth century had been gradually falling into disuse and disrepute among the Muslims particularly in the eastern provinces of the Caliphate. To understand the state of al-Ṣaghānī's contemporary Ḥadīth literature, a preamble seems to be called for.

Section II

Ḥadīth Literature before al-Ṣaghānī

The fourth century of the Hijra witnessed the culmination of the great epoch for the growth and development of Ḥadīth. Then as a result of researches on the part of the *Tālibū 'Ilm* the Science of Ḥadīth literature—*Ilm al-Ḥadīth*—was evolved;⁴ while, in the course of the third century, *Ijtihād*, par excellence, of the Muslim divines and doctors, was responsible for the evolution out of the Qur'ān and the Sunna of the Islamic Shari'a into four juridical systems, *viz.*, the Ḥanafite, the Mālikite, the Shāfi'ite and the Ḥanbalite, of which the first three also recognize the

1. 'Alī al-Qārī, loc. cit.

2. *Miftāḥ al-Sa'āda*, Vol. I, pp. 98-99; Ma'ārif, Vol. XXIV, No. 1, pp. 12-13.

3. *Geschichte*, Vol. I, p. 360.

4. Al-Khawli, *Miftāḥ al-Sunna* (Cairo, 1921), p. 109; Guillaume, *Traditions of Islām* (Oxford, 1924), p. 67; al-Khudrī Beg, *Tārīkh Tashrī' al-Islāmi* (Cairo, 1934), pp. 192-4; Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, pp. 393-95.

locus standi of the *Ijmā'* (Consensus of the Community) and the *Qiyās* (Legal Analogy).¹

The four schools (*Madhāhib*) were not evenly distributed in the Sunnite World. In the fourth century the distribution was as follows: The Mālikites were found in al-Maghrib,² the Ḥanbalites or Aṣḥāb Ḥadīth, in Syria and Baghdād;³ the Ḥanafites, in the eastern provinces of the Caliphate with the exception of Nīshāpūr and parts of the Transoxania which were Shāfi'ite.⁴ Besides, the Shāfi'ites had their hold also over Egypt.⁵

Every *Madhhab* was a unit by itself, as it were. For guidance of its followers as also for preservation of its individuality, the study of *Fiqh* became essential. Thus, a group of scholars known as *Fuqahā'* (sing. *Faqīh*, Jurist) grew up from every *Madhhab* and devoted themselves to imparting lessons and writing books on *Fiqh*.⁶ In the course of time these *Fuqahā'*, became responsible officials of their respective governments as heads of the department of Law and Ecclesiastics. Thus the Shāfi'ite School of Law was adopted by the Ghaznawids and the Ayūbids, the Ḥanafite, by the Turks, and the Mālikites by the Spanish Amirate.⁷ This served as a great momentum for the study and culture of *Fiqh*. It was, now, not merely an academic pursuit but a passport for government service. *Fiqh*, therefore, opened up a new avenue for ambitious young men.⁸ How the study of *Fiqh* was rapidly gaining in popularity would

1. *Kitāb al-Fiqh 'Alā al-Madhāhib al-Arba'* (Cairo, 1931), pp. 40-41 ; al-Khudrī, pp. 333, 337 ; Hitti, pp. 396-400.

2. Maqdisī, *Aḥsan al-Taqāsīm*, p. 30.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 39, 124.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 37.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 180, 202.

6. For details see al-Khudrī, pp. 246-74, 370-77.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 342 ; *al-Madhāhib al-Arba'*, pp. 26-27, 32, 37.

8. Al-Ghazālī, *Ihyā'* (Egypt, 1322 A.H.), Vol. I, pp. 13, 16, 31 ; Shāh Wali Allāh, *al-Insāf* (Delhi, 1909), pp. 80-81.

be evident from the fact that in the third century the phraseology *tafaqqaha 'alā* was scarcely noticed; in the fourth it was seen side by side with that of *ḥaddatha'an* and by the fifth century the latter, namely, *ḥaddatha'an* was practically overshadowed by the former, namely, *tafaqqaha'alā*.¹ That nation-wide zeal and enthusiasm for Hadīth learning, *Rihla fi Talab al-'Ilm*, began to decrease² and instead the craze for higher knowledge in *Fiqh* and all that it stood for increased. As a result, centres for the learning of *Fiqh*, jurisprudence, sprang up all over the Muslim World. Later, a Chair for the Shāfi'ite *Fiqh* was instituted in the famous Nizāmīyya College of Baghdād, while al-Mustansiriyya provided for the instructions in all the four schools.³ Egypt, too, did not lag behind in this direction in so far as it had to her credit al-Madrasat al-Suyūfiyya, al-Ṣālihiyya, al-Nāsirīyya and al-Ṣalāhiyya for the study and cultivation of *Fiqh*.⁴ As a matter of fact, the Muslims, *en masse*, rose equal to the occasion so far as the culture of the Science of *Fiqh* was concerned. Even the Hanbalites themselves started writing down brochures on *Fiqh*, of course, based on the Qur'an and the Sunna.⁵ Interest for Hadīth, therefore, lessened or was restricted to such Aḥādīth as were suited for the requirements of a particular *Madhhab*. But in their attempt to utilize Aḥādīth to subserve their respective *Madhahib*, the Fuqahā' did more harm than good. For, the criteria to scrutinize the soundness of a Hadīth could not have always been maintained with the result that almost every Hadīth, sound or otherwise, that went to support the view-point of a particular *Imām*, was accepted and that justification was sought to be given even for weak

1. Cf. *Shadharāt*, Vol. III.

2. *Renaissance of Islām*, pp. 190-91.

3. Hitti, op. cit. pp. 410-11.

4. *Al-Madhahib al-Arba'*, Vol. I, pp. 27, 37,

5. Al-Khudrī, p. 274.

ones. Thus, many a weak Ḥadīth naturally crept into *Fiqh* literature. No wonder, then, that such a masterpiece of the Hanafite jurisprudence like *al-Hidāya* should contain Traditions of indifferent authorities or which were spurious.¹ But the greatest disservice done to Apostolic Traditions by the Fuqahā' was that they encouraged inter-Madhhab rivalry particularly between the Hanafites and the Shāfi'ites. Towards the 5th century A.H. theological debate, *munāẓara*, between the Fuqahā' of the two rival schools, usually presided over by a high government official, was very common. To establish the superiority of one school over that of the other, both the parties put forward their arguments, but rules of decency and decorum could not always be maintained. As a matter of fact, it was more often than not that a debate degenerated into brawls and mutual recriminations.² During this time traditions were coined right and left. That the so-called traditions, e.g., Abū Ḥanīfa is the light of the nation, Umma', and 'a Qurashite savant, meaning al-Shāfi'i, will flood the surface of the earth with knowledge', are cases in point.³ Thus, most of the Fuqahā' remained so pre-occupied with the formulation of their own *madhāhib* that they not only neglected the priceless Ḥadīth compilations such as the *Ṣaḥīḥ* or the *Sunan* works but also aided and abetted the circulation of weak or forged traditions, if they answered their purpose. Accordingly, in those days forces were let loose to give circulation of forged traditions or coin equally had ones in the persons of the so-called *Mu'ammariin*, e.g., Naṣṭūr al-Rūmī, Abū 'l-Dunyā al-Ashajj and Ratan al-Hindī,⁴ or the Qaramaṭans who legalized fabrication

1. Cf. at Marghīnānī, *al-Hidāya*, ed. Yūsufi Press, Lucknow, 1325 A.H., Vol. I, p. 136 = Ibn Hajar, *al-Dirāya* (Delhi, 1350 A.H.), p. 124; p. 144 = p. 127; *al-Hidāya*, Vol. II, p. 456 = p. 332; p. 459 = p. 335.

2. For details, see *Iḥyā*, Vol. I, pp. 31-33.

3. For more of these Traditions consult Ṭāḥir al-Hindī's *Tadhkirat al-Mawdū'āt* (Cairo, 1343 A.H.) pp. 111 seq.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 107-08.

if it would tend to improve the morale of the people. This was not all. To capture the imagination of the audience the *qaṣṣās*, or the story-teller, interwove false Aḥādith in the course of their story-telling. Likewise the *Khānqās* or the hospices of the ascetics became veritable hot-beds of fabrication inasmuch as every moralizing saying that would encourage the inmates to lead contemplative lives, passed for Ḥadīth.¹ The commentators also passed off in their *Tafsīrs* many ill-founded sayings as Traditions with special reference to the extraordinary merits attached to the different *Sūras* of the Qur'ān.² Thus, like a mushroom, fabricated Aḥādith grew and multiplied.³ To counteract this evil tendency the Traditionists like Ibn al-Jawzī (d.597), al-Ṣaghānī and others took up the cudgels. Ibn al-Jawzī's *al-Mawḍū'āt al-Kubrā*, a comprehensive collection of manufactured Aḥādith, will always remain a classic in this branch of the Science of Tradition. But he is accused as a rigorist (*mutashaddid*) inasmuch as his *al-Mawḍū'āt* is said to have included into it some *Ḥasan* and *Ṣaḥīḥ* Aḥādith.⁴ In the face of the ever-increasing influx of the fabricated traditions of the day, if Ibn al-Jāwzī, out of his exuberance of the process of purging, has included some genuine Traditions he cannot be much blamed. Withal things did not much improve. For al-Ṣaghānī, writing within fifty years after Ibn al-Jawzī on the attitude of the intelligentsia *vis-à-vis* Ḥadīth, states, 'There have multiplied in our days *Aḥādith Mawḍū'a* (fabricated traditions) which are being narrated by the *qaṣṣās* in the assemblies as well as on the pulpits and by *fuqahā* (jurists) and *fuqarā* (saints) in the Madrasas and the Khānqās,

1. Tāhir al-Hindī, pp. 6-8.

2. Cf. *Tafsir al-Kashshāf* and al-Baiḍāwī at the conclusion of every *Sūra*.

3. Tāhir al-Hindī, pp. 8 seq.

4. Ibid., pp. 3-4; Lucknawī, *Fawā'id al-Bahīyya*, p. 30; Sakhāwī, *Fath al-Mughith*, ed. Lucknow, Anwar Muḥammadi Press, p. 107.

respectively. Thus they (*Mawḍū'āt*) are being handed down to the posterity. Nothing but the sheer ignorance of the knowledge of the Sunna can be accounted for this state of things. As a matter of fact, Traditionists are nowhere to be met with save and except in the barren tract of Arabia. Forged traditions and so-called sayings of the Prophet are being freely circulated in books without paying any heed to their objectivity. Because of the reputation of the authors, these books are well received by the posterity with the result that the religion itself is now in jeopardy¹. No picture could have been more vivid and realistic than the one just portrayed by al-Ṣaghānī speaking as he does from his personal experience and authority.

Section III.

His role as a Traditionist.

Next to Ibn al-Jawī, al-Ṣaghānī² applied himself heart and soul to weed out *Aḥādīth Mawḍū'a*. He was more systematic and his grasp of the problem more thorough than his compeer Ibn al-Jawzī. His treatises³ on *al-Mawḍū'āt* recount the topics in which fabrication was usually taken recourse to. They are as follows :

(i) Traditions relating to christening a person after the name of Muḥammad and Aḥmad; (ii) Traditions relating to rice, melon, garlic, egg-plant and onion, etc., (iii) Traditions relating to *Naksh*, metamorphosis of as many as sixteen animals, *viz.*, the tortoise, the bear, the hyena, the lizard, etc., as stated in some Tafsīrs; (iv) Traditions relating to the merit

1. Al-Ṣaghānī, *Risāla fi 'l-Mawḍū'āt* (printed with Abū 'l-Maḥāsīn's *al-Lu'lu' al-Marsū'*, ed. Egypt, undated), pp. 1-2.

2. *Faṭh al-Mughīth*, p. 107.

3. MSS copies of the treatises are noticed in Lakhnawī's library at Firingī Mahal (cf. *Fawā'id al-Bahīyya*, p. 30) and one in the library of Nadwa, Lucknow.

of the months, days and nights as mentioned in the *Yawāqīt wa 'l-Mawāqīt*; (v) Traditions relating to the merit of the month of Rajab and (vi) Traditions relating to the merit of the lamps, candle-sticks and mats used in mosques.¹

Al-Ṣaghānī is perhaps the first critic who has particularly emphasized on the nature of the wording and the meaning of a Hadīth to be attributed to the Prophet apart from the usual conditions stipulated for a genuine Tradition.² He has, therefore, held that the phrase *qāla al-Rasūl* should in no circumstances be associated with a report other than a true Hadīth.³ He has also drawn up a list of the master-fabricators, namely, Abū 'l-Dunyā al-Ashajj, al-Kharrāsh, Ja'far b. Naṣṭūr al-Rūmī; Bishr, Yaghnam, Yakhshaf on the authority of Anas, Ratan al-Hindī and others.⁴ His books may, therefore, be regarded as an earliest attempt to enunciate the principles of *Mawḍū'āt*.

Al-Ṣaghānī also makes a fair collection of false traditions.⁵ The later researches have revealed that, like the rigorist Ibn al-Jawzī, al-Ṣaghānī has taken a number of Aḥādīth to be *mawḍū'* which are not actually so.⁶ The reason seems to be this that as the atmosphere was surcharged with fabrications, he was only too cautious.

Al-Ṣaghānī was not rest satisfied merely with the act of purging the Apostolic traditions of fabrications. He did more. His greatest service for the cause of the Science, however, lay in his endeavour to popularise *Aḥādīth Ṣaḥīḥa* among the Muslims. As he felt that if, at the outset, he would present before the public the

1. *Risāla fī 'l-Mawḍū'āt*, pp. 5, 9-10.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.

3. *Tāhīr al-Hindī*, op. cit., p. 8.

4. *Risāla Fī 'l-Mawḍū'āt*, pp. 3-4, also p. 12.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 4, 12.

6. *Al-Fawā'id*, p. 30.

Ṣaḥīḥān or any other collection of authentic traditions, they were not likely to be well received because of their bulk, he prepared two of his earliest compendia on the subject, namely, *al-Miṣbāḥ al-Dujā min Ṣiḥāḥ al-Ḥadīth al-Ma'thūra* and *al-Shams al-Munira min al-Ṣiḥāḥ al-Ma'thūra*, which evoked a wide-spread interest among his co-religionists. Thus encouraged, he compiled his epitome of the *Ṣaḥīḥān* which became famous under the name of the *Mashāriq al-Anwār*.¹

His Mashāriq al-Anwār

✓ The *Mashāriq al-Anwār* embodies into it 2,253 select Aḥādīth from the *Ṣaḥīḥs* of al-Bukhārī and Muslim, of which 327 belong to the former and 875 to the latter, while the rest 1,051 are common to both.² He has selected only the *Aḥādīth Qawliyya* in preference to those of *Fi'liyya* and *Taqririyya* and also those called *Mutaba'āt*, *Shawāhid* and *Riwayāt bi'l-Ma'nā*, as they (*Aḥādīth Qawliyya*) play a more vital part in the formulation of the principles of the Sharī'a. The selection of Aḥādīth, therefore, has not been arbitrary. As for the *isnād*, only the name of the Ṣaḥābis are mentioned. The Traditions of al-Bukhārī are represented by خ, those of Muslim by م and those that are common to them both, by ق.

The book is divided into twelve *bābs*, chapters, which again are subdivided into one or more *faṣls*, sections. Each *bāb* has a group of Aḥādīth opening either with : (i) grammatical regents (عوامل), such as

1. See *Mashāriq al-Anwār* (Egypt, 1329 A.H.), p. 4. The full title of the work is *Mashāriq al-Anwār al-Nabūwiyya fī Ṣiḥāḥ al-Akḥbār al-Mustafawīyya* (Hājī Khalīfa, Vol. V, p. 547). This *Mashāriq al-Anwār* should not be confused with the *Mashāriq al-Anwār*, a commentary of the *Gharā'ib*, difficult words of the *Muwatta'a* and the *Ṣaḥīḥān*, by Qādī 'Iyād (d. 644).

2. According to the commentator al-Kazurūnī (d. 758), the total number of Aḥādīth contained in the *Mashāriq* is 2,246 (Hājī Khalīfa, Vol. V, p. 547) as against 2,253, in the recently published edition of the work under the auspices of Dār al-Funūn at Qunīya (vide Maktabat Maḥmūdīya, edition Cairo, 1329 A.H.).

ان and so on, or with (ii) the words of the verbal tenses, such as امر 'مضارع' ماضى and so on. As regards the *Aḥādith* collected under the one or the other of the '*ʿAwāmil*', they have been arranged alphabetically. As for the traditions collected according to tenses, they, too, have been arranged alphabetically. Again, each *faṣl* serves as a line of demarcation between the uses of the same '*ʿAmil* with different forces, e.g., as موصول 'استفهام' or شرط, or in combination with different pronouns, e.g., انى 'انك' 'انه' or between a series of opening words having various denominations. In the sequel, every *bāb* provides for diverse topics of interest such as principles of the Shari'a, ethics, transactions, manumission of slaves, jihād (holy war) etc. It is for this reason that an Indian commentator has compared it to a garden whose flowers resemble in colour but vary in fragrance.¹ So it appears that al-Saghānī followed the above arrangements as against the stereotyped ones of the *Sunan*, *Jāmi'*, *Musnad* and *Mu'jam* works only to make his work attractive and interesting. Further, the above arrangement is otherwise useful in so far as it may be regarded as a sort of catalogue of the *Ṣaḥīḥān*.

Within seventy-five years of the author's death, the first commentary of the *Mashāriq al-Anwār* by 'Alā' al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Qazwinī was written at al-Mustanṣiriyya in Baghdād.² At about the same time, Shams al-Dīn al-Awadī (d. 749), a disciple of Nizām al-Dīn Awlīyā' (d. 725), brought out the second commentary of the book.³ Since then many commentaries, compendia and abridgements of the *Mashāriq* by scholars of the different Muslim countries among whom several have been of Turkish and Indian nationalities, saw the light of the day. As the years

1. Khurram 'Alī Balharī, *Tuḥfat al-Akhyār*, Urdū tr. of the *Mashāriq* (Cawnpūr, 1917), p. 17.

2. Hājī Khalīfa, Vol. V, p. 551.

3. *Supra*, p. 60.

rolled on, the *Mashāriq al-Anwār* grew more and more popular so that by the 8th century journies were undertaken and classes were held for its study.¹ The part it played towards the propagation of Hadith literature in Northern India during the pre-Renaissance period, we have already noticed.² Suffice it to say here that it was the *Mashāriq al-Anwār* which kept aloft the banner of the *Sunna* in the Fiqh-ridden countries of India and Central Asia of the day.

Al-Ṣaghānī's other works on Hadith :

(i) *Kashf al-Hijāb 'an Aḥādīth al-Shihāb*. Al-Ṣaghānī edited al-Qudā'i's (d. 454) *Kitāb al-Shihāb* with the symbols of *Ṣaḥīḥ*, *ḍa'īf* and *mawḍū* against each and arranged it on the lines of the *Mashāriq al-Anwār*.³

(ii) *Sharḥ al-Bukhārī*, a short commentary of the *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*.⁴

(iii) *Durr al-Siḥāba fī Mawāḍi' Wafayāt al-Ṣaḥāba*. (Khadiwiya, Vol. V, 52): a collection of the places of the deaths of the Companions of the Prophet arranged alphabetically.⁵

(iv) *Mukhtaṣar al-Wafayāt*, a general biographical treatise.

(v) *Kitāb al-Du'afā' wa 'l-Matrūkīn*, a book dealing with weak, rejected Transmitters of Hadith.⁶

Al-Ṣaghānī as an editor of the *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*.

Al-Ṣaghānī's name shall always remain immortalized as an editor of the text of al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*. As

1. Ibn Hajar, *al-Dura al-Kāmina*, Vol. IV, p. 82.

2. Supra, pp. 76-77.

3. Hājī Khalīfa s.v. *Kashf al-Hijāb 'an Aḥādīth al-Shihāb*.

4. Tāsh Kuprī, op. cit. p. 99; Qurashī, *al-Jawāhir*, Vol. I, p. 202.

5. *Fihris al-Khadiwiyya*, s.v. *Durr al-Siḥāba*; *Tadhkirat al-Nawādir*, ed. Hyderābād, p. 82.

6. *Al-Jawāhir*, Vol I, p. 202.

a matter of fact, the edition of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* current all over Arabia, India, Persia and al-ʿIrāq we owe to his master-mind and to nobody else's.¹

1. A. Mingana, perhaps the first Orientalist to write on the history of the transmission of the text of the *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, observes: 'Before the 4th century, the text of al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* was 'in a fluid state and not definitely fixed in the form in which we have it in our day.' In the opinion of Mingana, there was little likelihood of the whole text of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* being extant in a systematically written form at the time. Thanks to the efforts of the Traditionists like al-Aṣḥālī (d. 392), al-Qābisī (d. 403), Abū Dharr (d. 434) and Abū Nu'aim (d. 466), in the course of the 4th and the 5th centuries the text was well-nigh established. The process of systematization thus began continued until it was finally completed towards the early part of the 6th century by Abū 'l-Waqt (d. 553) who might be called the last true editor-transmitter of the text of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. But the Traditionists, namely, al-Sam'ānī (d. 562), Ibn 'Asākir (d. 571), al-Ṣaghānī (d. 650) and Sharaf al-Dīn al-Yūnīnī (d. 701) also contributed materially in this direction in so far as they co-ordinated the early variants of the text and handed them down in the form in which we see them in numerous MSS. of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. The mantles of these editors, however, fell on the shoulders of al-Ṣaghānī and al-Yūnīnī who gave the finishing touch to the text exactly as we have it in respect of its form, order and phraseology. The edition of the *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* current in Arabia, India, Persia and al-ʿIrāq are generally based on the text edited by al-Ṣaghānī, while al-Yūnīnī's edition is popular in Morocco, Algeria, Egypt and Syria. *Vide* A. Mingana: *An Important Manuscript of the Traditions of Bukhārī* (Oxford, 1936), pp. 1-2, 14, 16, 20, 25, 27, 29.

CHAPTER III

INDIAN TRADITIONISTS

(950-1257/1543-1841)

Section I. 950-1000/1543-1591

'ALI AL-MUTTAQĪ & HIS SCHOOL OF MUḤADDITHŪN

(a) 'Alī al-Muttaqī al-Burhānpūrī (885-975/1481-1568).

'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī b. Husām al-Dīn b. 'Abd al-Mālik b. Qāḍikhān al-Muttaqī al-Burhānpūrī al-Madanī whose ancestors lived at Jawnpūr, was born at Burhānpūr in 885/1481. Educated at his native town under Shaykh Bajin and his son 'Abd al-Ḥakīm and at Multān, under Husām al-Dīn al-Muttānī, al-Muttaqī was for some time a Qāḍī of Burhānpūr. In 941/1534, he was in Gujarāt whence, on account of Humāyūn's invasion of the territory, he left for the Hijāz with a party of his pupils and settled down at Makka.¹ Here he took further education in al-Ḥaḍīth from Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Sakhāwī, Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Bakrī (d. 952) and Ibn Ḥajar al-Makkī (d. 974), and became an authority on the subject. His eminence as a Muḥaddith may be judged from the fact that his teacher Ibn Ḥajar al-Makkī himself accepted his discipleship. A man of great sanctity and learning, 'Alī al-Muttaqī commanded respect not only from his contemporary scholars but also from the Ottoman Emperor Sulaymān I (1520-55) and the Muzaffarshāhī Sulṭān Maḥmūd III (1537-53) who granted stipends for the pupils of his

1. Supra p. 109.

Madrasa. He died at Makka in 975/1568.¹

'Al-Muttaqī evinced a keen interest for al-Suyūṭī's *al-Jam' al-Jawāmi'*, *al-Jam' al-Ṣaghīr* and *al-Ziyāda*—works designed to serve the purpose of an Encyclopædia of Ḥadīth literature—and himself, to further facilitate the study of the books, compiled the following six works:—

(i) *Manhaj al-'Ummāl fi Sunan al-Aqwāl wa 'l-Afāl* (Rāmpūr No. 404: Khadiwīyya, i, p. 433). In this work al-Muttaqī has classified, according to the chapters of Fiqh, the Ḥadīth of the *Jam' al-Ṣaghīr* and *al-Ziyāda* arranged alphabetically. A commentary on the *Manhaj al-'Ummāl* by an anonymous author has been preserved in the Oriental Library at Bānkī-pūr.²

(ii) *Ikmāl Manhaj al-'Ummāl* (Khadiwīyya, X, p. 271): a supplement to the *Manhaj al-'Ummāl*.

(iii) *Ghāyat al-'Ummāl*: the Ḥadīth of the above two books have been collected into the *Ghāyat al-'Ummāl*.

(iv) *Al-Mustadrak*: In this work al-Muttaqī has arranged, according to the chapters of Fiqh, the Ḥadīth *Fī'līyya* of the *Jam' al-Jawāmi'*.

(v) *Kanz al-'Ummāl fi Sunan al-Aqwāl wa 'l-Afāl*: the *Ghāyat al-'Ummāl* and *al-Mustadrak* have both been again embodied into the *Kanz al-'Ummāl*, a popular and encyclopædic collection of Ḥadīth published in eight volumes by the Da'irat al-Ma'ārif Press at Hyderābād in 1312-13 A.H.

1. Ulughkhānī, pp. 315, 368; *Akhbār al-Akhbar*, pp. 241 seq; *Subhat al-Marjān*, p. 43; *Ma'thar al-Kirām*, pp. 192-94; *Khazina*, Vol. I, pp. 429-31; *Tadhkira-i-'Ulamā'*, pp. 146-47; *Iḥṣāf al-Nubalā'*, p. 336; *Tiqṣir*, p. 177; *'Abjad al-'Ulūm*, p. 895; *Ḥadā'iq al-Hanafiyya*, s.v. 'Alī Muttaqī al-Burhānpūrī; *Yād-i-Ayyām*, pp. 35, 44; Bānkīpūr Catalogue, Vol. XVI, 81; *Shā'rānī, Tabaqāt al-Kubrā'*, s.v. 'Alī al-Muttaqī; *Ma'ārif*, Vol. XXII, No. 2, p. 562.

2. *Vide Catalogue*, Vol. V, (2) No. 426.

(vi) *Muntakhab Kanz al-'Ummāl* (Khadiwiyya, Vol. I, p. 428; Rāmpūr No. 296; Aṣafiyya, I, No. 676): An abridgement of the *Kanz al-'Ummāl*. An extensive commentary on this work in four volumes entitled *Sullam al-Anwār* by an anonymous author is available in the Bānkipūr Library.¹

In addition to the above works, al-Muttaqī has written the following commentary and treatises on al-Ḥadīth:—

(1) *Sharḥ Shamā'il al-Nabī*, a commentary on al-Tirmidhī's *Shamā'il al-Nabī* of which a Ms. copy is available in the library of Dar al-'Ulūm at Peshawar.¹

(2) *Al-Burhān fī 'Alāmat Mahdī Ākhir al-Zamān* (Loth. No. 1031 II): a rearrangement of the Aḥādīth contained in al-Suyūṭī's al-'Arf al-Wardī on the account of al-Mahdī together with additional material from the *Jam' al-Jawāmi'*. In the preface, the author has proved the claim of Maḥmūd al-Jawnpūrī as the promised Messiah to be false.

(3) *Jawāmi' 'l-Kalim fī 'l-Mawā'iḥ wa 'l-Ḥikam* (Bānkipūr, XIII, Nos. 946-8; Loth. Ind. Office No. 673): a treatise on Aḥādīth dealing with sermons and wise sayings.

(4) *Al-Manhaj al-Tāmm fī Tabwīb al-Ḥikam* (Brockelmann, Sup. I, 519): a commentary of al-Nawawī's *Miṣbāḥ al-Zulām*.

(b) His pupils: Among al-Muttaqī's pupils Tāhir al-Fattānī (d. 986) selected Gujarāt as the seat of his activities, while the following of his pupils, the Ḥaramayn:

1. *Qāḍī 'Abd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm al-Sindī*
(d. 955/1548).

He was a native of Darbila in Sind and read at Kahan with Maḥdūm 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Abharī. In

1. *Vide* Catalogue, Vol. V, part II, Nos. 432-35.

2. Catalogue, p. 76, No. 39.

934/1527, he proceeded to Aḥmadābād and became a disciple of al-Muttaqī. Then he migrated to the Hijāz along with al-Mattaqī, and settled down in al-Madīna where he died within two years of his residence.¹ His two sons, Raḥmat Allāh and Ḥamid—the former also a pupil of al-Muttaqī—were Traditionists.

2. *Raḥmat Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh al-Sindī*
(d. 993/1585)

On finishing his studies at Makka under al-Muttaqī, Raḥmat Allāh repaired to al-Madīna and lectured in Ḥadīth literature. In 982/1574, he came to India along with Ḥājī Begam who had been on a pilgrimage to Makka, and visited Agrā where 'Abd al-Qādir al-Badā'ūnī, the author of the *Muntakhab al-Tawārikh*, read Ḥadīth with him.² He next taught the subject at Aḥmadābād for some time, again went to Makka and died in Muḥarram, 993/January, 1585. He compiled a work on *al-Muwḍu'āt* which, however, has not come down to us.³

3. *Shaykh 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'd Allāh al-Sindī*
(d. 984/1577).

He was a native of Darbila in Sīnd and migrated with his teacher al-Muttaqī to Makka where he also read Ḥadīth with Ibn Ḥajar al-Makkī. He finally settled down in al-Madīna with his namesake and fellow-citizen, Qāḍī 'Abd Allāh with whose son Raḥmat Allāh he became very intimate. He died at Makka in Dhū'l-Hijja, 984/March, 1577.

'Abd Allāh edited the *Mishkāṭ al-Maṣābīḥ* with copious annotations to prove the superiority of the

1. Ma'sūmī, *Tārikh-i-Sīnd*, p. 202; *Akhbār al-Akhyār*, p. 265.

2. Badā'ūnī, p. 114 = Haig, p. 168.

3. *Akhbār*, pp. 264-65; *Yād-i-Ayyām*, p. 36; *Tadhkira 'Ulamā'*, p. 102; Brockelmann, Sup I, p. 524.

Hanafite School.¹

4. *Shaykh 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Muttaqī*
(d. 1001/1592).

'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Walī Allāh, the successor of 'Alī al-Muttaqī at Makka, was born at Shadiābād—Mandū—in 943/1536. In 962/1556, he joined the School of al-Muttaqī and soon became one of his favourite pupils. He rendered a yeoman's service to his teacher by copying, comparing and arranging his writings. After al-Muttaqī's death, 'Abd al-Wahhāb took charge of his Madrasa—the then principal seat of Hadīth learning at Makka—and served it with great credit until his death in 1001/1592.²

Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Muḥaddith al-Dihlawī (d. 1052) was a pupil of 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Muttaqī.³

Section II

Muftī Quṭb al-Dīn al-Nahrawālī (917-90/1511-82).

The Indian Traditionist who long enjoyed the privilege of teaching Hadīth literature at the sacred Haram of Makka was Muftī Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Alā' al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Qaḍikhān al-Hanafī al-Nahrawālī al-Makki who was otherwise an important author of Arabic literature and history.⁴ He introduced into Arabia the *Sanad al-'Ajam*⁵ of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī which he had received from his father 'Alā al-Dīn al-Nahrawālī (d. 949),⁶ a pupil of

1. *Akhhār al-Akhyār*, pp. 264-65; *Tadhkira-i-'Ulamā'*, p. 102; *Hadā'iq al-Hanafiyya*, p. 388; *Ma'sūmī*, p. 204; *Ulughkhānī*, p. 638; *al-Nūr al-Sūfī*, p. 357.

2. *Akhhār*, pp. 253 seq; *Hadā'iq*, pp. 292 seq; *Tadhkira-i-'Ulamā'*, p. 139; *Ma'ārif*, Vol. XXII, No. 4, pp. 263-64.

3. *Supra*, p. 147.

4. Brockelmann, *Sup. I*, p. 514.

5. So called because between Quṭb al-Dīn and al-Bukhārī, the transmitters of this *sanad*, are all non-Arabs.

6. *Vide supra*, p. 88.

Nūr al-Dīn al-Shirāzī, and was himself a link between the non-Arab and the Arab transmitters of this *sanad*.

Born at Lahore in 917/1511, Qutb al-Dīn migrated with his father to Makkā and studied under 'Abd al-Haqq al-Sumbātī (d. 931), 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Dayba' (d. 944) and several other professors of the Hijāz. He travelled in Egypt and Turkey visiting the famous seats of learning. In 954/1538, he was received in audience by the Ottoman Emperor Sulaymān I (1520-55), obtained Khil'a, robe of honour from him and was appointed the Superintendent of the theological institutions of Makka. He next became the Mufti of the holy city and died in 990/1582.¹

His work :—

Muftī Qutb al-Dīn is the author of a comprehensive work on Hādīth literature which incorporates into it the Aḥādīth of the *Ṣiḥāḥ Sitta*—a work highly praised for its treatment by 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Khawli.²

'Abd Allāh b. Mullā Sa'd 'Allāh al-Lāhūrī
(d. 1083/1672).

Among the Traditionists who transmitted the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī in Arabia on the authority of Qutb al-Dīn, was 'Abd Allāh an Indian. He was born at Lahore and died at al-Madīna in 1083/1672. The famous Madinian Traditionist Ibrāhīm al-Kurdī (d. 1102) was his pupil in al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*.³

1. *Al-Nūr al-Sāfir*, pp. 383 seq; *Shadharāt*, Vol. VIII, pp. 420 seq; Shawkāni, *al-Badr al-Jālī*, Vol. II, pp. 57-58; *al-Yāni*, p. 28; al-Imdad, p. 57; al-Amam, pp. 4-5; Qatī, pp. 13-5; *Ithāf al-Akābir*, pp. 61 seq; Zaidān, *Adab al-Lughat al-'Arabiyya* (Cairo, 1913), Vol. III, p. 309; Sarkis, p. 1871; Huart, *A History of Arabic Literature* (London, 1903), pp. 377-78; 'Abd al-Hayy, *Yād-i-Ayyām*, pp. 56-57; *Nuzha*, Vol. IV, s.v. *Qutb al-Nahrawālī*.

2. *Yide Miftāḥ al-Sunna*, p. 110.

3. *Ithāf al-Akābir*, pp. 61-62; al-Imdad, p. 74; al-Amam, pp. 4-5; al-Yāni, p. 33.

Section III

Abū'l-Ḥasan al-Sindī (d. 1138/1726).

Abū'l-Ḥasan Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abd-al-Ḥādī al-Ḥanafī al-Sindī al-Madanī who was a native of Thath near Karāchī, was educated at Tustar (mod. Shustar in Persia) and al-Madīna. He took Ḥadīth literature from two Madinian Traditionists, namely, Sayyid Muḥammad al-Barzanjī (1040-1103) and Ibrāhīm al-Kurdi (1025-1102). He resided at al-Madina and was appointed Professor of the Dār al-Shifā', the then famous school of Ḥadīth learning of the city. Al-Sindī was a recognized author of Ḥadīth literature and his popular *Ḥawāshī*, marginal notes, on the *Ṣiḥāḥ Sitta*, display all through his vast study of the Science and a deep and critical insight into the juridical problems. Further, he was the first Traditionist to write a commentary on the *Musnad* of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal. He died on the 12th Shawwāl, 1138/June, 1726 and was buried in the graveyard of al-Bāqī' at al-Madīnā.¹

His works :—

(i) *Al-Ḥawāshī Sitta 'ālā 'l-Kutub al-Sitta* : Marginal notes on the Six Canonical Collections of Aḥādīth. The manuscript copies of the work are in the Khadiwiyya library of Egypt.² The *Ḥawāshī* on the *Ṣaḥīḥān* have been published with the Egyptian edition of the works and those on the *Sunan al-Nasā'ī*, with the Indian edition.

(ii) *Bahjat al-Nazar fī Sharḥ Nukhbat al-Fikar*

1. Al-Jabrati, *Ajū'ib al-Āthār* (Cairo, 1322), s.v. Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Sindī; *I'tām al-Nubalā'*, Vol. III, p. 938; *Silk al-Durar*, Vol. IV, p. 66; Sarkis, *Mu'jam al-Maṭbu'āt* (Cairo, 1928), pp. 1056-57; *Qaff al-Thamar*, p. 21; al-Yāni', pp. 42-44; Ma'ārif, Vol. XXII No. 5, p. 338.

2. *Vide Fihrist*, Vol. I, p. 331; also preserved in the Rāmpūr State Library (Catalogue, II, 130). Cf. *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, Vols. II, 549, Vol. III, pp. 622, 625, 627.

(ASB No. 606/15 Arabic MSS): a commentary on Ibn Hajar's *Nukhbat al-Fikar*.

(iii) *Sharḥ Musnad Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal*: This commentary on the *Musnad* which consists of as many as fifty *juṣ'*, parts, has been noticed by Nawwāb Ṣiddiq Ḥasan Khān and 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Khawli in their respective books.¹

His pupil :—

Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥayāt al-Sindī (d. 1163/1750).

Muḥammad Ḥayāt al-Sindī succeeded his teacher Abū 'l-Ḥasan as the Professor of the Dār al-Shifā' and spent his life in the services of Hadīth literature. He had *al-Ijāza* from 'Abd Allāh b. Sālim al-Baṣrī (d. 1134), Ibrāhīm al-Kurdī (d. 1145) and Ḥusain b. 'Alī al-'Ujaimī. He was a native of 'Adīlpūr in the district of Bhakkar in Sind and died at Madīna in 1163/1750.²

His works :—

(i) *Tuḥfat al-Muḥibbin* (Bānkīpūr, V (2), No. 286; Brock. Sup. I, 522): a commentary on the *Arba'in* by al-Nawawī.

(ii) *Risāla fī Bid'at al-Ta'zīa*.

(iii) *Tuḥfat al-Anām*: a treatise refuting *taqlīd*.³

(iv) *Sharḥ Arba'in li 'l-Harawī*: a commentary on Mullā 'Alī al-Qārī's *Arba'ūna Ḥadīthan fī Jawāmi' al-Kalim*.⁴

1. *Al-Ḥiṭṭa fī Dhīhr Ṣiḥāḥ Sitta*, s.v., *Musnad Aḥmad*; *Miftāḥ al-Sunna*, p. 37.

2. *Nuzha*, XII A.H.; *Subḥat al-Marjān*, p. 95; *Ma'thar al-Kirām*, pp. 164-66; *Ithāf al-Nubalā'*, pp. 403-04; *Abjad*, p. 849; *Tiqār*, p. 224; *Tadhkira-i-'Ulamā'*, pp. 186-87; *al-Yāni'*, p. 43; *Ma'arif*, Vol. XXII No. 5, pp. 338-39.

3. *Ithāf al-Nubalā'*, loc. cit.

4. Brockelmann, Supp. I, pp. 522, 539.

Section IV

1. 'Umar al-Nahrawālī

'Umar b. Muḥammad 'Ārif Tajkhān al-Nahrawālī al-Madanī was a native of Nahrawāla in Gujarāt. He migrated to al-Madīna and settled there permanently. 'Umar appears to have flourished in the 11th century of the Hijra. No notice of his biography is, however, available.¹

His work:—

Al-Faiḍ al-Nabūwī fī Uṣūl al-Ḥadīth wa Fahāris al-Bukhārī (Loth, No. 131): The book has a *Muqaddima* and four Faṣls. The *Muqaddima* has been devoted to Iṣṭalāḥāt al-Ḥadīth or the technique of Ḥadīth literature and the Faṣls, to Uṣūl al-Ḥadīth. At the end of the book, there is a discussion on al-Bukhārī and his *Ṣaḥīḥ*.

2. Shaykh Abū 'l-Ṭayyib al-Sindī

Abū 'l-Ṭayyib Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Ḥanafī al-Sindī al-Madanī settled down in al-Madīna and was a pupil of Husain b. 'Alī al-'Ujaimī in the *Ṣiḥāḥ Sitta* and the *Sunan* works. He also read with Ṭāhir b. Ibrāhīm al-Kurdi and Muḥammad al-Kawkani. He lived in the 12th century A.H.²

His work:—

Sharḥ 'alā Jāmi' al-Tirmidhī: an Arabic commentary on the *Jāmi'* of Abū 'Isā al-Tirmidhī lithographed at the Nizāmī Press, Delhi along with the *Shurūḥ-i-Arba'*.

1. Cf. Loth, India Office, No. 131.

2. *Nuzha*, Vol. XII, A.H., s.v., Abū 'l-Ṭayyib al-Sindī.

3. *Sayyid Murtaḍā al-Bilgrāmī* (1145-1205/1732-91).

Abū 'l-Faiḍ Muḥammad Murtaḍā b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Ḥanafī al-Ḥusaynī al-Wāsiṭī al-Bilgrāmī al-Zabīdī, the celebrated author of the *Tāj al-'Arūs*, belonged to the family of the Wāsiṭī Sayyids of Bilgrām. He took his early education in India from Fākhir al-Iḥābādī (d. 1164), Shāh Walī Allāh al-Dihlawī (d. 1176) and Khayr al-Dīn al-Sūrātī (d. 1206). In about 1160/1747, young Murtaḍā made a pilgrimage to the Haramayn and spent the next four or five years at Zabīd studying the sciences of Tradition and Philology. In 1167/1753, he went to Egypt where he finally settled down at 'Aṭfat al-Gassāl, a quarter in Cairo and died of plague in 1205/1791.¹

Sayyid Murtaḍā taught Ḥadīth literature at the Jāmi' of Shaykhūn where his lectures were attended by the Professors of the Jāmi' 'l-Azhar as well as by the Traditionists of the different parts of Egypt and outside. Sulṭān 'Abd al-Ḥamīd I (1774-89) of Turkey who had keen interest in Ḥadīth literature secured an *Ijāza* of the *Ḥadīth al-Raḥmat*² from him. I have myself found a MS copy of the above historic *Ijāza* in the Nawwāb Ṣiddiq Ḥasan Section of the Library of Dār al-'Ulūm, Nadwa at Lucknow transcribed by the Nawwāb himself and am going to append it to the end of my thesis.

His works :—

1. *Tāj al-'Arūs* (Cairo, 1307), Vol. X, pp. 469-70 (autobiography); al-Jabrātī, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 208-23; 'Abd al-Ḥayy, *Fihris*, pp. 388-413; *Ithāf al-Nubalā'*, p. 407; *Taqṣār*, p. 221; *Abjad*, pp. 709-712; Sarkis, 1726-28; Maqbūl Aḥmad Ṣamdānī, op. cit., I, 21, n. 30; *Tadhkira-i-'Ulamā'*, pp. 224-26; Ḥadā'iq, pp. 458-61; Lane, *Lexicon* (London, 1863), p. XVIII; Idāra-i-Ma'ārif-i-Islamiyya, Proceedings, First Session, 1935, pp. 332-33.

2. *I.e.*, الراحمون يرحمهم الرحمن تبارك و تعالی ارحموا من فی الارض یرحمکم من فی السماء -

(i) *'Uqūd al-Jawāhir al-Munīfa fī Uṣūl Adillat Madhhab Abī Ḥanīfa* (printed in 2 vols. at Alexandria in 1292 A.H.): a collection of Aḥādīth in support of the Ḥanafite School of Jurisprudence.

(ii) *Bulghat al-Arib fī Muṣṭalah Āthār al-Ḥabīb* (printed in Egypt in 1326 A.H.): a treatise on Uṣūl al-Ḥadīth.

(iii) *Ghāyat al-Itihāj li Muntafi' Asānīd Muslim al-Ḥajjāj* (Brock., Sup. I, 399).

(iv) *Tabṣīr al-Muntabih bi Taḥrīr al-Mushtabih* (ibid).

(v) *'Iqd al-La'li al-Muntathira fī Ḥifẓ al-Aḥādīth al-Mutwātira* (ibid).

(vi) *Mu'jam al-Mashā'ikh* (ibid).

(vii) *Alfiyat al-Sanad* (ibid).

(viii) *Musalsalat* (ibid).

4. *Shaykh Muḥammad 'Ābid al-Sindī* (d. 1257/1841).

'Ābid b. Aḥmad 'Alī b. Ya'qūb al-Anṣārī al-Ḥanafī al-Sindī al-Madani was born at Siwan, a village in Sind on the bank of the Indus. Educated at Zabīd, he married a daughter of the then minister of San'a and was appointed by the Imām of al-Yaman as his ambassador of Egypt. He then had a sojourn to his native land where after staying for a while, he left for al-Ḥijāz and was appointed by the Egyptian government as the chief of the 'Ulamā' of al-Madina. He died at al-Madina in Rabī' I, 1257/April, 1841.¹

His works :—

1. Al-Yānī' al-Janī, s.v. 'Ābid al-Anṣārī; *Tadhkira-i-'Ulamā'*, p. 202; *Ḥadā'iq*, p. 473.

(i) *Al-Mawāhib al-Latifa 'alā Musnad al-Imām Abi Ḥanīfa* (MS, Ma'ārif vol. L(6), p. 422, No. 6): a commentary on the *Musnad* of Abū Ḥanīfa, wherein the commentator has cited Aḥādith from the standard works to support those in the *Musnad* itself.

(ii) *Murattab Musnad al-Imām al-A'zam* (MS., ibid, p. 424, No. 3): In this work, our author has classified the Aḥādith of the *Musnad* according to the chapters of Fiqh.

(iii) *Sharḥ Taysir al-Uṣul ilā Aḥādith al-Rasul*: on Uṣul al-Iḥādith.

(iv) *Sharḥ Balugh al-Marām*: a commentary on Ibn Ḥajar's *Balugh al-Marām*.¹

1. *Ḥadā'iq*, loc. cit.

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APPENDIX

Copy of Sayyid Murtadā Bilgrāmī's *Ijāza* granted to Sulṭān 'Abd al-Ḥamīd I of Turkey (1774-89) transcribed from the MS. of an Anthology by Nawwāb Şiddīq Ḥasan Khān of Bhūpāl preserved in the Dār al-'Ulūm of Nadwa, Lucknow.

صورة اجازة مرسلة الى سلطان الزمان ابي الفتح عبدالحميد خان
نصره الله تعالى للسيد محمد مرتضى الزبيدي رحمة الله تعالى

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ط

الحمد لله الذي رفع مقام اهل الحديث مكانا عليا ، و اظهر محاسن
احاديثهم الصحيحة فلم يكن شئ منها عن بلوغ شاوا الكمال
الاحسنا بهيا ، والصلوة والسلام على سيدنا محمد المبعوث الى
كافة الخلق بشيرا نذيرا و داعيا الى الله باذنه و سراجا منيرا ، و على
آله و صحبه الذين تلالأت انوار مصابيح نبوته في مشكاة قلوبهم
فزادتهم ايمانا و نورا ، و على خلفائه الذين سطع برهان جوامع
احاديثه في جباههم فنضت بدعوته المستجابة وجوههم و ملأت
بلوامع بدائع حكمه افئدتهم و صدورهم ما دامت سلسلة الاسناد
متسلسلة باتصال الحسن و الاحسان الى يوم المعاد ،

اما بعد : فان احسن الحديث كتاب الله جل جلاله الاعظم و
خير الهدى هدى محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم ، و هما اعظم الوسائل
و المقاصد السنية و بهما التوصل الى السعادة الابدية ، و قد
استمسك منهما بالعروة الوثقى التي لا انفصام لها و كان لا محالة
احق بها و اهلها ، حضرة مولينا ملك العالم و سلطانه ، و امام
المسلمين الذي جلس على كرسى الخلافة فما كسرى و ايوانه ، اعظم
سلاطين الارض القائم لله بوظايف النفل و القرض ، ذوالمحاسن التي

اصبحت افكارا بالبلغاء عن القيام بحق وصفها مفحمة ، و المراحم التي حققت عند الخلق انه ايده الله تعالى من الذين تواصو بالمرحمة و الباس الذي اطفأ نار البغاة ، و اخمدها ، و المساعي المحموده التي فاق بها سلاطين الارض فكان هو على الحقيقة حميدها و اخمدها ، الامام الذي ثبت له التقديم و ذكر فضله بين اكابر الجماعة فكان له التكبير و التسليم ، و اظهر بالعظمة التي تخضع لها اعناق الجبابرة و تتناقل الركبان احاديثها التي هي كالامثال السائرة ، واستولى على غاية الفضل فلا مطعن للحاسد و لا مطمع و ارتفع حيث فعل الجميل ، و كيف لا وحق الفاعل ان يرفع ، و خطبة مصالح الامة للقيام بامرها اذ لم تجد لها كفوا سواء و عقد له عليها عقد لا ينتقض و لا تنحل قواه حتى لقد وافته بشائر السعد تهنئه ، و اصبح لسان الحال ينشد و يغنيه — اتته الخلافة منقادا - اليه تجرر اذيالها ، فلم تك تصلح الا له و لم يك يصلح الاله - السلطان الذي غذى بحب العدل والاحسان و عجز عن القيام بشكره كل لسان فكم رحم مسكيننا و آوى غريبا ، و قالت همته الشريفه اذا استعظم السلاطين معنى الفضل ، انهم يرونه بعيدا و نراه قريبا ، و كم عاف ظفر برجائه اذا تمسك به واعتلق و وصل اليه فقطع ما بينه و بين انكاد الزمن من العلق طال ما بنى فعل سيفه الماضي على الفتح و اعربت حركاته السعيدة عن معاني الحمى و المنح - و طارت اخباره الحسنة كل مطار ، و تعطرت بطيب الثناء عليه سائر الاقطار و تشنفت الاذان بحسن سمعته

و تواضع ادام الله تعالى علاه على فرط رفعته ، حتى لقد تحيرت
اهو فى الارض بدايل ان الهجر فى يمينه ام فى السماء بدليل ان
القمر فى جبينه ، و قام بامور مدايحها على الخلق متعينة وقال
المدعى لتقدمه على سلاطين العصر ، هذه دعواى و محاسنه هى
البينة هذا ثنائى و هايتكم مناقبه ، ياايها الناس ما ابعدت اشهادى
فهو حامى حمى الاسلام و ماحى عبدة الاصنام ، سلطان العالم ،
و امير المؤمنين ناصر الملة والحق والشرع والدين ، مجدد معالم
السنة و محى شعائرها و مقيم دروسها الواثق بالله المستعان
نظام الدنيا و الدين ابوالفتح عبدالحميد خان ادام الله تعالى
سلطانه و اعان انصاره و نصر اعوانه و خلد دولته و اعلى على
ممر الزمان كاحته فلقد انام الانام فى مهاد الخصب و الامان ،
و اقام رعاياه فى مقام السعادة امنين فى زمانة الزمان ، و لاح
كالشمس فى افق هذه المملكة العالية فذهبت نفوس الاعداء فى
الحسرات تجول و عمرت به ارجائها الحسنة حتى لقد قال القائل
ماالناس الا هو ، و ماالدنيا الا استنبول ، و انا والله عاجز عن شكر
مراحمه الشريفة معترف بجزيل فواضله التى تفيض ظلالها الوريقة ،
وكيف لا وقد سبق آمالى بجياد مكارمه التى لا تلتحق ، و واليت
حضرة الشريفة حيث اعتقنى من رق الاعسار ، انما الولاء لمن
اعتق و عمر خواطرى بمحبته فلم يبق لها الى غيره التفات و
امطرها سحائب كرمه فاخرجت رياض المدائح مرهزة باحسن
نبات و اثقل عنقى بمنن ليس لى بشكرها من قبل و بلغنى ما

اتمناه حتى صرت اصحب الدنيا بلا امل و كل نفس عن الايام راضية ' به فلا عرفت بعد الرضا سخنا ' وهذه صحيفة لطيفة و مجلة حسنة شريفة هي عنوان شرف و حكم و علم و ترجمان صدق و اناءة و علم يعرب حق اليقين بلسان عربي مبين ' على ما يروع من عظيم المهابة و الاجلال على ما يروق من العواطف و المراحم التي هي منتهى آلامال ' فحق حقيق ان ينشر على بساط انعامه و لطفه و حنانه و جواهر شكره على توالى فضله و احسانه و امتنانه كالبحر لمطيره السحاب و لاله - عين عليه لانه من مائه ' ولا بدع ان يروى عند جنباه الاعلى بعض مروياته و يهدى لحضرته ثمرة فذة من زاهر هباته و حسناته اقتداء بائمة الحديث في القديم والحديث رجاء الانتظام في فرائد عقودهم الباهرة الفاخرة في الحياة الدنيا و في الآخرة مع الذين انعم الله عليهم من النبيين و الصديقين الشهداء و الصالحين و حسن اولئك رفيقا من الله تعالى بذلك و حققه تحقيقا آمين ' و هذا اوان الشروع في المقصود و الاتيان بالفرض الموعود ' فاقول و بالله استعين ' اياه اسئل ان يوفقنا اجمعين '

حدثني جمع من الائمة الاعلام بواهم الله دارالسلام اعلامهم سند واكثرهم مددا ' شيخنا الامام المحدث المسند الجليل السيد عمر بن احمد بن عقيل الحسيني المكي و هو اول حديث سمعته من حفظه و لفظه بالمدينة المنورة قرب باب الرحمة في شهور سنة ١١٦٣ هـ قال حدثنا الامام المحدث المقرئ شهاب الدين احمد بن محمد بن

عبدالغنى الدمياطى وهو اول حديث سمعته منه قال حدثنا المسند
المعمر شمس الدين محمد بن عبدالعزيز المتوفى و هو اول حديث
سمعته منه قال حدثنا الشيخ المعمر ابوالخير عمر بن عموس الرشيدى
و هو اول حديث سمعته منه ، قال حدثنا شيخ الاسلام زكريا بن
محمد الانصارى و هو اول حديث سمعته منه ، قال حدثنا الامام الحافظ
شهاب الدين ابوالفضل احمد بن على القسطلانى وهو اول حديث
سمعته منه ، قال حدثنا حافظ الوقت زين الدين ابوالفصل عبد الرحيم
بن الحسين العراقى وهو اول حديث سمعته منه ، قال حدثنا الامام
المسند صدرالدين ابوالفتح محمد بن محمد الميذومى و هو اول حديث سمعته
منه ، قال حدثنا الامام نجيب الدين ابو الفرج عبداللطيف بن عبد المنعم
الحرانى وهو اول حديث سمعته منه ، قال حدثنا الامام الحافظ زين الدين
ابوالفرج عبدالرحمن بن على البغدادى وهو اول حديث سمعته منه ، قال
حدثنا الامام ابو سعد اسمعيل بن احمد النيسابورى وهو اول حديث
سمعته منه ، قال حدثنا والدى الامام ابو صالح احمد بن عبد الملك
النيسابورى وهو اول حديث سمعته منه ، قال حدثنا الامام ابو طاهر
محمد بن محمد بن محمش الزيادى وهو اول حديث سمعته منه قال
حدثنا الامام ابو حامد احمد بن محمد بن يحيى بن بلال وهو اول
حديث سمعته منه ، قال حدثنا عبدالرحمن بن بشر بن الحكم العبدى
وهو اول حديث سمعته منه ، قال حدثنا سفيان بن عيينة وهو اول
حديث سمعته منه ، عن عمرو بن دينار عن ابى قابوس عن عبدالله
بن عمرو بن العاص رضى الله عنهما قال قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه
وسلم الراحمون يرحمهم الرحمن تبارك و تعالى ارحموا من

في الارض يرحمكم من في السماء، هذا اول حديث روى مسلسل
 وقد رواه الامام احمد و عبد بن حميد و مسدد و ابوبكر بن ابي شيبة
 في مسانيدهم و ابو داود و الترمذي في سننهما و الحاكم و
 البيهقي في شعب الايمان و هو حديث حسن صحيح على الاسناد
 بيننا و بين النبي صلعم تسعة عشر رجال معناه ارحموا من
 تستطيعون ان ترحموه برحمتكم المتجددة الحادثة المخلوقة لله
 تعالى بمحض فضله عليكم من شفقة و احسان و مواساة و شفاعة
 و دعاء و توجه الى الله تعالى على حسب ما يقتضيه الحال باتباع
 الكتاب والسنة بقدر الاستطاعة و الامكان فان لكل مقام مقالا و قد
 كان النبي صلعم ارحم الخلق فما ضرب خادما و لا مملوكا ولا
 انتقم لنفسه قط و كان يضرب بسيفه اعداء الله قل تعالى في حق
 الصحابة رضى الله عنهم اشداء على الكفار رحماء بينهم هذا و قد
 روينا بالاسانيد العالية الصحيحة الثابتة المتصلة الى الامام ابي الحجاج
 مسلم بن الحجاج القشيري رحمه الله تعالى في صحيحه بسنده الى الامام
 ابي رقية تميم بن اوس الداري رضى الله تعالى عنه ان النبي صلعم
 قال الدين النصيحة قلنا لمن قال لله و لكتابه و لرسوله ولائمة
 المسلمين و عامتهم هذا حديث عظيم الشأن عليه مدار الاسلام
 اما النصيحة لله فمعناها منصرف الى الايمان به و نفى الشريك
 عنه و ترك الالهة في صفاته و وصفه بصفات الكمال و الجلال كلها
 و تنزيهه سبحانه عن جميع انواع النقائص و القيام بطاعته
 و اجتناب معصيته و موالة من اطاعه و معاداة من عاداه و عصاه
 و جهاد من كفر به و الاعتراف بنعمته و شكره عليها و الاخلاص

فى جميع الامور والدعاء الى جميع الاوصاف المذكورة والحث
 عليها والتلطف فى دعاء جميع الناس او من امكن منهم عليها -
 واما النصيحة لكتاب الله فالايمان بانه كلام الله لا يشبهه شئ من كلام
 الخلق ولا يقدر على مثله احد منهم، و تعظيمه و تلاوته حق تلاوته
 والتصديق بما فيه و الوقوف مع احكامه و تفهم علومه و امثاله
 والعلم بمحكمه و التسليم لمتشابهه، واما النصيحة لرسول الله صلعم
 فتصديقه على الرسالة والايمان لجميع ما جاء به و احياء سننه و
 نشرها و نفى التهمة عنها، و التفقه فى معانيها، والتلطف فى تعلمها
 و تعليمها و اعظامها و اجلالها والادب عنه قرأنها واجلال
 اهلها لانتسابهم اليها، و اما النصيحة لائمة المسلمين فمعاونتهم
 على الحق و طاعتهم فيه و تنبيههم و تذكيرهم برفق و لطف
 و اعلامهم بما غفلوا عنه اولم يبلغهم من حقوق المسلمين و
 تاليف قلوب الناس لطاعتهم و اما النصيحة لعامة المسلمين
 فارشادهم لمصالحهم و الشفقة عليهم و توقير كبيرهم و رحمة
 صغيرهم والذب عن اموالهم و اعراضهم و غير ذلك من
 احوالهم و فى الصحيحين عن ابن عمر رضى الله عنهما قال سمعت
 رسول الله صلعم يقول كلكم راع و كلكم مسئول عن رعيته
 فالامام راع وهو مسئول عن رعيته والرجل راع فى اهله وهو مسئول
 عن رعيته و المرأة راعية فى بيت زوجها وهى مسئولة عن رعيته
 و الخادم راع فى مال سيده وهو مسئول عن رعيته فكلكم راع و كلكم
 مسئول عن رعيته، و عن عائشة رضى الله عنها قالت سمعت رسول الله
 صلعم يقول اللهم من ولى من امراتى شيئا فشق عليهم فاشفق عليهم

و من ولى من امرأتى شيئا فرفق بهم فافرق به رواء مسلم
والنسائي و روى الاصبهاني في ترغيبه عن ابي هريرة رضى الله
عنه قال قال رسول الله صلعم يا ابا هريرة عدل ساعة خير من
عبادة ستين سنة قيام ليلها و صيام نهارها و في رواية عدل
يوم واحد افضل من عبادة ستين سنة و الايات و الاحاديث في
ذلك كثيرة و قد احاط بها علوم الحضرة الشريفة و سطر في
الصحائف المطهرة المبرورة لكن قال الله تعالى و ذكر فان الذكرى
تنفع المؤمنين ان في هذا بلاغا لقوم عابدين و قد جعلت ختام
هذه الصحيفة مسكا و نظمت له بجواهر المفاهر سلكا فختمت كما
بدأت بذكر اعظم سلاطين الزمان الخافض لكلمة الكفر و الرافع
لكلمة الايمان عالم السلاطين و سلطان العلماء ذى الحضرة
العظمى التى تتصاغر اليها اكابر العظماء امامنا الذى جعله الله
تعالى قبلة المطلوب و اجزانا من التوجه الى شطره على اجمل
اسلوب سيد سلاطين العجم و العرب المانع من تسهيل الفوائد
ما هو احلى من ارتشاف الضرب الذى هو البحر تحدثت الالسن عن
محاسنه بالعجائب ولا حرج ويلوذه من نالته شدة الافتقار فيدخل
دار السعادة من باب الفرج له دولة اسمى لها الله في الورى
مكنا و اعلاها مقاما و اعلاها لقد اعربت من سيرة عمرية على
العدل و الاحسان اصبح مبنها لها شرف باهى السنا و
فضائل اري المسك يقوى نشره عند رباها و اخبار عدل
ابدعت في طباقها فكم زال حر الجور من برد ذكرها فياحبنا

من سيرة جل ذكرها، و دق على الالباب ادراك معناها،
 الا و هي سيرة مولينا امير المؤمنين و حامى حوزة الدين الواثق
 بالله المستعان، ناصر الدنيا والدين ونظامهما على التعيين ابى الفتح
 عبدالحميد خان جعل الله تعالى اعقابه الشريفة قبلة القبل و
 انعامه المنيفة مصادر الجود و موارد الامل و جمل الوجود
 ببقاء دولته العادلة و ايامه و قرن سعيه الشريف بالظفر فى مبدأ
 كل امر و ختامه بمنه و كرمه،

و قد اجزت مولينا السلطان المشار اليه نظرالله بعين
 عنايته اليه و خلد جذيل نعمه عليه ان يروى عنى هذا الحديث
 المسلسل بالاولية و سائر ما يجوزلى و عنى روايته او تصح
 درايته و من جملة ذلك الكتب الستة الصحاح التى هى صحيح
 البخارى و مسلم و سنن ابى داؤد و الترمذى و النسائى و ابن
 ماجه بشرط الاعتبار عند اهل الاثر ملتصقا منه الدعاء بظهر الغيب
 و الابتغال به الى عالم الغيب فان دعاء مولينا السلطان
 مستجاب بلا ريب اذ هو قطب العالم و سر غيب الغيب انار الله
 برهانه، و اعانه بالتوفيق لمصالح الامة و نصر اعوانه و انه
 لاجابة جدير و على ما يشاء قدير، قاله بفمه الفقير الى مولاه
 الشاكر على ما اولاه ابوالفيض محمد مرتضى الحسينى العنقى
 خدام علم الحديث بمصر غفرالله زلله و اصلح خلاله و تقبل عمله
 و بلغه امله فى عاشر شوال سنة ١١٩٣ هـ احسن الله تمامها اسعد عامها

. قدر في خير ختامها ' حامدا لله وحده و مصليا على نبيه و آله
 . صحبه اجمعين و حسينا الله و نعم الوكيل ' الحمد لله الذي دل
 بالي الخيرات .